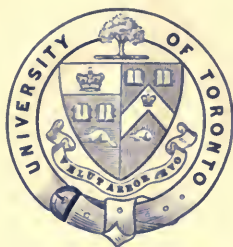




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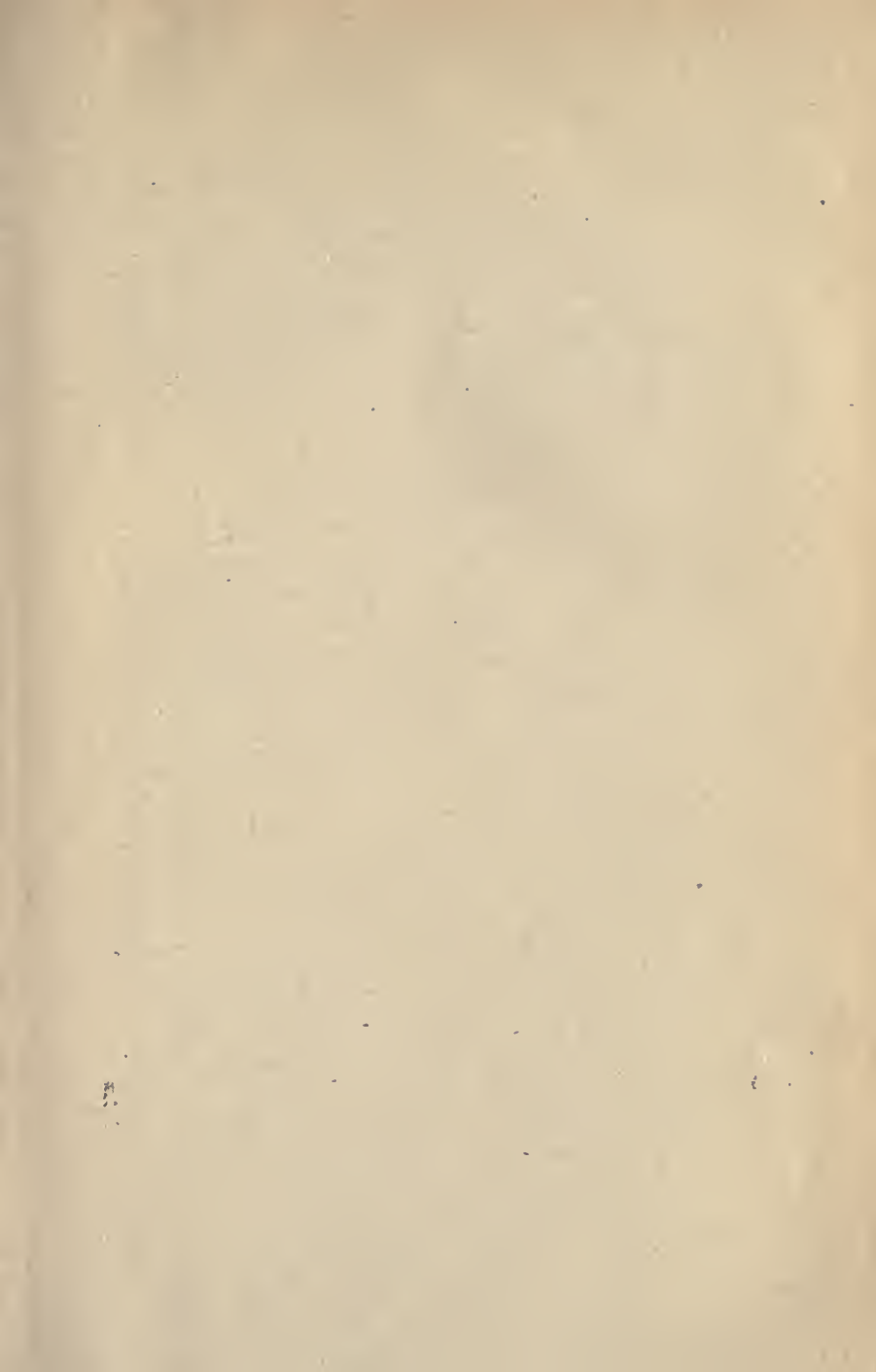
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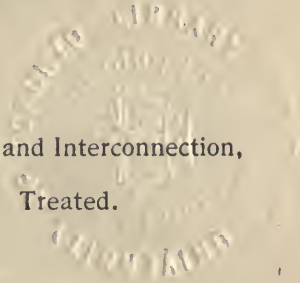
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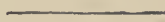
# SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

In their Origin, Growth, and Interconnection,  
Psychologically Treated.



BY  
*Beques*  
DENTON J. SNIDER, Litt. D.

*153363*  
*26/11/19.*



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## *INTRODUCTION.*

The title page of the present work endeavors to suggest its purpose, which we may here elaborate a little. To set forth the origin, growth, and inter-connection of Social Institutions is the design; we shall place the stress upon their inter-connection. These Institutions are, in general, the Family, Society, State, Church, and the Educative Institution, all of which are to be unfolded, ordered, and shown in their unity.

As the chief interest is to see how these Institutions are connected and correlated, we shall have to pay special attention to the method. This requires a certain order which runs through and joins together the whole book; it also requires a given nomenclature which indicates in the word the connecting thought. Still we hope to

render the following exposition intelligible to any reader who is willing to think a little. It is impossible to unify the science without some use of technical terms, which, however, we shall try to make plain either in advance or when the need for them arises. But all cannot be grasped at once; the thought may have to grow a while.

It ought to be here stated that the term *Sociology*, which may seem to many the natural designation of the present subject, has been on the whole avoided. For this there are several reasons. Sociology has hitherto derived its method from Physical Science, largely from Biology; our method comes from the opposite direction, from Psychology. Moreover, the great promoters of Sociology have, in the main, discarded Free-Will, Herbert Spencer for instance declaring it to be "an illusion." But the present book makes all Institutions, Society included, spring from Free-Will; our science is, or seeks to be, a philosophy of freedom in its total circuit. Then again Sociology is usually confined to Society as such, or the Economic Order; we intend to embrace in our work the whole institutional world. So the word *Sociology* would call up a wrong set of mental associations, quite antagonistic to our purpose; we shall have to set it aside in the present exposition. We might call the science *Institutionology*, were the word not too outrageous, being both a hybrid and a sesquipedalian.

We shall, accordingly, help ourselves out with the term, *Science of Institutions*; or, when we may wish to put stress upon the psychical origin and movement of our subject, we shall call it *Institutional Psychology*. For if Psychology be the determining principle of Institutions, as is here maintained, then they become a branch of the general science of Psychology.

I. The statement has just been made that our treatment of institutional science goes back to Psychology for its derivation and its method. At once the question will be asked: What Psychology do you mean? as there are several sorts of Psychology. Let the answer be given with decision: not the old Rational Psychology, nor the more recent Physiological Psychology, both of which, having performed their service, have retired or are retiring into the background, where they still have a mission. Both have shown their limits; the former, Rational Psychology, had always the habit of imposing upon the free movement of the Self some alien metaphysical system; the latter, Physiological Psychology, has committed the same fault, though in just the opposite manner: it has foisted its method, derived from Natural Science, upon the free movement of the Self, the Ego. Both, therefore, are psychological tyrants in the very citadel of liberty, and must be banished in the interest of freedom and of free Institutions. These cannot be rightly

conceived and set forth by a science which is itself enslaved, being subjected to a physical or a meta-physical method coming from the outside and controlling its movement.

Psychology, in its broadest sweep, is the science of the Self, both human and divine; it has as its center the Person, who is also the center of the Universe both within and without. This Self (or Ego) is its own inner process, the self-active, self-determined, free; any method to which it subjects itself must be its own; any control of it must finally be self-control, any government over it must finally be self-government. The science of Psychology must, therefore, above all sciences, show an inner unfolding, an unfolding through itself which is just the Self. Distinctions it must have, but these are to spring from its own process, self-generated, not thrust into it from the outside, from some alien source. As the Ego is self-unfolding, so the science of the Ego (which is Psychology) must be self-unfolding likewise, moving forward through its own process and positing its own distinctions.

Now this process of the Self, in its first and simplest, as well as in its highest and most concrete forms, has been given its own separate name in our nomenclature: it is called the Psychosis. This is the fundamental act of self-consciousness, the act whereby man is self-conscious; we shall see it to be the building prin-



ciple of the total institutional edifice from bottom to top. The Psychosis may be deemed the primordial psychological cell, which reproduces itself through its own genetic energy and develops into the thousandfold forms of science, one of which is our present theme. As the human organism in all its variety of shape and function is declared to have its generative unit in the simple cell, so the spiritual universe has its generative unit in the Psychosis.

Such is the unitary principle which both evolves and orders the present book, running through it and jointing it together from beginning to end. We seek to reveal the institutional world as a cosmos, as an ordered whole, whose creative germ lies in the Psychosis and unfolds into the most mature fruits of civilization. To be sure, its undeveloped primal form looks very different from its ultimate, highly complex shapes; just as the unpretentious microscopic cell looks very different from its evolved human body. And the bare statement of the Psychosis by itself has as little outer resemblance to the completely realized Psychosis, as the acorn has to the oak; yet the acorn unfolds into the oak.

II. Psychology is, however, wider than the science of Institutions, which is but one branch of the same—that branch which we may call, from the present outlook, Institutional Psychology. The point from which Institutions take

their psychical departure is the Will, though the other leading psychical activities, as feeling and intellect, do not and cannot absent themselves. For the mind is a whole, and acts as a whole, though one of its stages may and indeed must receive the emphasis. Accordingly we shall always be coming back to the Will as the fountain head of the following exposition.

But the sphere of the Will is also wider than that of Institutions. The characteristic fact of the Will is an outering of the Self, it is the subject (or Ego) making itself object. Of this activity of the Will we have elsewhere pointed out and designated the three main stages—the Psychological Will, the Moral Will, and the Institutional Will. (See our work, *The Will and its World*, p. 29.)

III. Just here we wish to call the reader's attention to the pivotal expression which gives the psychological form of the Institution, and which we employ throughout the following treatise. This expression is: *Will actualized*. Every Institution is some form of Will actualized. Thus we have a term which gives the psychological unit of the institutional world. Just as we have by analogy considered the Psychosis to be the unitary cell of all Psychology, so we may consider Will actualized to be the unitary cell of all Institutions, or rather of Institutional Psychology.

Probably at this point there is a demand for some explanation of the term in question, though the entire book is really its explanation, or, as we hope, its explication. Will is actualized in an object which is itself Will, and this is a Will which wills Will. Such an object, which is existent in the World as Will, whose end and purpose is to secure Will, is an Institution. The State, for instance, is a Will, objective, existent in the world, whose function is to safeguard my activity (or Will) through the law.

Actualized Will, therefore, is not simply my putting my Will into an external thing, as when I write or make a steam-engine; nor is it when I externalize my Will in conduct, which is the basis of morals. Both these cases we may call Will *realized*, but not *actualized*; the latter is an objective Will, independent of mine, yet securing mine; it is the Will as actual and not merely as real. Actualized Will, then, is the content or subject-matter of institutional science, while the Psychosis is the creative form or procedure which it has in common with all science.

Later in this Introduction we shall come back to the present subject. But now we shall pass to the divisions of the institutional world and their order. Already we have noticed that the institutional Will is the third stage of the psychical process of Will in general, being a returning to and a securing of individual Will. But this same

psychical process (the Psychosis) we are now to see at work ordering the world of Institutions, which has also three stages. These we shall name the Secular Institution, the Religious Institution, and the Educative Institution, which together form the complete institutional cycle.

IV. The Secular Institution, as its name indicates, deals with the secular life of man, which is full of wants, desires, finite ends. That is, man's Will in secular life is immediate, natural, individual; he is in a so-called state of nature. Now the Secular Institution is to mediate this immediate Will of the natural man; he may fulfill his desire, satisfy his bodily needs, yet all this is to be done not immediately, but institutionally. He must appease his hunger, but he is not to seize his loaf of bread anywhere or anyhow (immediately); he is to obtain it through the Social Order (institutionally). Hence we may say that the Secular Institution has to institutionalize the secular man.

Thus the human being is raised out of his purely individual existence into a universal life, in which not merely one, the strongest, can have his desires and wants satisfied, but all can; or, to make the statement more complete, not one alone can be free, but all can be free. For freedom is the great end of Institutions, which are themselves forms of actualized Will, whose ideal function is to safeguard and to confirm Free-Will under all circumstances

While the Secular Institution thus vindicates the individual Will, it demands the subordination of the same to itself as willing what is universal or for all individuals. It may enforce this subordination from the outside, by external power, if necessary. Still the truly institutional spirit will of itself perform the act of submission, beholding in the Institution its own higher Self. The law which it obeys is its own, being through the Institution rescued from lawlessness on the one hand, and becoming self-legislative on the other.

The Secular Institution will show its process in three great institutional forms — Family, Society, State — all of which are to be set forth in detail further on. But the supreme contrast with the Secular Institution, its counterpart and its foundation in one sense, is the Religious Institution, which we shall here briefly touch upon.

V. The Religious Institution also deals with the human Will, not, however, in its immediate form (such as we behold in the Secular Institution) but in its self-separating and self-renouncing form which submits itself from the start to the universal Will, to the Absolute Person, God. "Not my Will, but Thine be done," is the fundamental utterance of the religious consciousness, whose deepest prayer is, "Thy Will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven."

Thus we find that the Religious Institution is to actualize the individual Will in its breach with

itself, whereby it seeks to separate itself from its rude, natural, simply self-assertive stage, and to subordinate itself to the Supreme Will. Accordingly, the religious Will is the second phase of institutional Will, in the complete Psychosis of all Institutions. The human Self surrenders itself to the Divine Self above, thus getting rid of selfishness yet attaining true selfhood; for the Divine Self is man's own highest Self in Person, is the universal Self which is to make him universal, too, in his willing and doing. Thus in the best sense the act of self-renunciation, upon which the Religious Institution is built, is an act of self-assertion, though not in its immediate, secular meaning. In fact the self-renouncing deed may and often does require a mightier effort of volition than any other human act. The will-power of Christ as we read his expression of it in the New Testament, was the very strongest, nay superhuman; nor did Socrates or even Buddha lack in the same respect. But the Will in this very work of renouncing itself, at last finds itself, which shows the third stage or the return and the self-recovery of the disrupted human Ego, usually called in religious language the reconciliation with God, which is also the reconciliation with Self.

We may here see that the Secular Institution goes back to, or rather reaches forward to, the Religious Institution for a foundation, since the

latter is the grand trainer of the Will to an institutional life. The Secular Institution also demands the subordination of the Will to itself, to its Law, which is, in form at least, external, is imposed from without. But the Religious Institution calls for and calls forth the inner submission of the Self within itself to the Supreme Will. When I can say in truth: "Not my Will but Thine be done," I have separated my Will from itself, from its own immediate gratification, and have subjected it to the Will of God through its own act. Thus it is a broken, yea a self-broken Will; it is that "broken and contrite heart" which is the first stage of initiation into the Religious Institution. Yet in this way and in this way alone, does the Will recover itself and reach reconciliation "in the peace of God."

Religiosity, then, springs from this breach of the individual Will with itself, its falling out with Self primarily, and likewise with all secularity. Yet it returns to unity with itself through the Religious Institution, which is here a form of actualized Will, existent in the world, with its worship, rites, creed, priesthood. Thus the Religious Institution makes actual the complete process of the Will, starting with the "broken Will" and returning to the healing of the Will — whereby the religious process is completed and the Will is made whole. In this state it has become truly an institutional Will to its innermost depths. And

the fact ought not to be forgotten that the greatest trainer to such a Will for our race, at least for the Occidental portion thereof, has been and doubtless still is the Hebrew Bible, whose record is one long line of terrific disciplining the chosen people into an institutional life.

The Religious Institution has, accordingly, actualized the individual Ego as Will in its second stage, the self-renouncing, which is the grand discipline of the Will, personal, perennial, indispensable. And now comes the third stage of this entire institutional Psychosis, manifested also in an Institution which is to return and to reproduce both the Secular and the Religious Institutions. For they have to be eternally recreated and made active in every individual member of the institutional world, which work is the function of a special Institution which we may next glance at.

VI. This is what we have already named the Educative Institution, whose highest object is to reproduce the institutional Person. Every born Ego is to be trained into its spiritual inheritance, which is supremely the world of Institutions. The child goes to school ultimately for this purpose, though of it both he and his teacher may be unconscious. But not alone the child at school is subject to this discipline; every individual, young and old, of every grade in society, is through Education to be trained into an institutional con-



sciousness internally and into an institutional life externally.

Of course Education gives other things very necessary to man in his social relations. It gives useful knowledge, it fosters learning, it brings development. Still its ultimate end, the end for which everything else becomes a means, is the reproduction and perpetual re-vivification of Institutions in every human soul.

Thus Education has a sweep far beyond the School proper, beyond even the College and the University. There is the School of Life, the University of Civilization, of which all men and women in one way or other must be members, and in which they must be disciplined through Education. Art, Science, Literature, History, Philosophy are branches in this vast Educative Institution, and their highest object is not to give pleasure merely, not to impart information simply, but is to re-create and to make alive and active in all minds the whole institutional world, of which everybody is a member and of which everybody ought to be a living incarnation.

Shakespeare, for instance, is the great institutional poet of Anglo-Saxondom, and he may well be deemed a supreme teacher in the Educative Institution. To be sure he has to be rightly studied. His poetry exists in this world not merely to amuse, though it gives amusement; not merely to furnish knowledge, though it has

a great deal of information to impart; not merely to teach human nature, though its insight into character is unparalleled. The supreme initiation into the Shakesperian Pantheon is the vision of and participation in his institutional world.

So we have as the final highest department of our Educative Institution what we may call the World-School, or the universal University, which has one supreme Teacher, none other than the World-Spirit itself. Still this Spirit has to be incarnated in visible human representatives, the Artist, Poet, Thinker, Scientist, each of whom in his way, after his own form of utterance, imparts his message to mankind. All Art, Literature, Science, Philosophy, which are worthy of the name, hold up before man a colossal image of the institutional Self both in its human and divine process, and have their ultimate end and justification in the Educative Institution of Humanity. They exist finally for man's Education, and from this point of view are to be developed and ordered in any system of thought. They are to train the human being of every class and vocation into a universal life, which, when made concrete by actual living, is found to be institutional.

Thus we stretch our thoughts to take in and to put together the vast outline, and perchance we may have to stretch our speech to the utterance of the mighty sweep of this institutional world.

The three forms of actualized Will, the Secular, the Religious and the Educative Institutions, organize the present book and constitute the primal institutional Psychosis, which is the unifying principle pervading and ordering the whole. Such is the positive element in all Institutions, but there is another and opposite element, which cannot be left out of the reckoning.

VII. This is the negative element which is always at work negating and undermining the institutional world just through itself, through its own forms. Thus we witness a Negative Family, a Negative Society, and even a Negative Church. A self-destroying activity is generated in Institutions, which turns them back and may whirl them down to the very starting-point of their development. This destructive energy must again be referred to the individual Will, which may refuse to will the institutional world, indeed may will just the opposite, and do so in pursuit of what it deems its own freedom. Thus the individual Will separates itself from and assails the actualized Will, whose very purpose is to secure and to establish the individual Will and all Will. Such is the deep inner dualism which now unfolds itself in the institutional world just at its starting-point in the Will, and which causes it to fall backward into less and less advanced forms of itself, sometimes to the very bottom.

Here it is necessary to note the psychical movement. This negative process belongs to the separative stage which is always the second one of the Psychosis, while the positive process, as already set forth, belongs to the first stage. Accordingly, after unfolding the Institution as it is in its positive, normal stage, or as it stands immediately before us, we have to pass to this second or negative stage, which shows the same Institution reverting to former conditions of itself. Examples cannot be here given, as they will be seen in the special treatment of every Institution. Thus, however, it is manifest that we cannot leave out of the institutional process the negative element of decline, decadence, reversion. From this element no society is wholly exempt at any time; though its general movement may be progressive, we shall find in it somewhere a counter current, or an under current which is running backward. This must be taken into account if we are to see the total process.

In confirmation of the present view we are able to cite the judgment of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Says he: "There are sundry reasons for suspecting that existing men of the lowest types forming social groups of the simplest kinds do not exemplify men as they originally were. Probably most of them, if not all, had ancestors in higher states; and among their beliefs remain some which were evolved during those higher

states." (Spencer's *Sociology*, p. 106.) Still further in the same place he proceeds: "I believe that retrogression has been as frequent as progression."

We have to think that the foregoing statements show Mr. Spencer's remarkable perspicacity as to particular facts, but also bring to the surface his lack in organizing completely his own thought. For in his method he follows the ascending or evolutionary movement, whereas he declares that the reasons are as many and as strong for the opposite movement, which is the negative or the reversionary movement. Both must be included in the process of the Institution, which brings us to consider its ascent.

VIII. This is the evolutionary side of the institutional world, the overcoming of the negative movement just witnessed. After the fall comes the rise, the sweep downward has its counterpart and corrective in the sweep upward. Evolution is the grand response to negation in every form. It is the real answer of the age to its own skepticism and inner disruption and decadence. Man, denying the truth and validity of Institutions, sinks down to the animal, but Evolution picks up the animal even and brings it up to man. Goethe already felt in Natural Science an answer to his doubt, and trained himself by its study to write his greatest poem, *Faust*, which shows both the descending and the ascending movement in the

soul of his hero, and this is also the soul of the age. Evolution is, therefore, the third act of the Psychosis of each Institution, the return to and restoration of the positive after passing through the negative.

It may be here noted that in the word *Evolution* lies couched the idea of rolling, of something which turns on itself while going forward. Not simple rotation on an axis, but also an advancing in and through such rotation, like the wheel of a vehicle. Still further we may carry the analogy: that which seems a straight line running on ahead, is really a curved line returning into itself; the road on which the wheel of the vehicle is turning, if continued to its end, circles the Earth and comes back to its starting-point. In the free space of the Heavens the Earth's rotation on its axis and its cyclical movement in its orbit show both principles working together in pristine harmony never-ceasing, and furnish a completely externalized image of the inner Universe, of the absolute Psychosis itself. Evolution is one stage, or rather one segment of this vast cycle, which cycle, without it, remains incomplete.

In the Evolution of Institutions as a whole we first note that they are all united in one primal form out of which they develop into differentiation. At the start there is no separation between the Secular, Religious, and Educative Institutions. This embryonic form has also its

stages, but is doubtless to be traced back to the primitive Family, which we may consider the first existent shape of Will actualized, and which connects closely with the animal world.

Only the barest outline of institutional Evolution can be here given. Later on there will be special applications which can be made supplementary at this point: —

(1) We naturally go back to savage life and to the Orient in order to catch the beginning of things. In the East all Institutions partake of the patriarchate; the ruler is primarily the father of the Family, of his City, of his People; he is also chief priest and supreme judge, as well as leader in war. The education of the child takes place almost wholly in the Family or directly through it. Great religions spring up, great states arise, still they never slough off paternalism, and hence never reach the conception of institutional freedom.

(2) The Secular Institution develops in Greece and Rome, though there is at first a complete unity between the Secular and Religious Institutions in the Family, and something of this unity remained in a formal way when all faith in the old religion had fled. M. de Coulanges in his book on *The Ancient City* (p. 52) goes so far as to say that "the ancient Family (Roman) was a religious rather than a natural association." But at last it became mainly a Secular Institu-

tion, along with State and Society, all of them being defined and controlled by the secular law of Rome. Thus arose Occidental civilization in contrast with Oriental, being marked by the complete development of secularity with the corresponding decline of religiosity.

The great movement of the Greco-Roman world was, accordingly, the rise of the Secular and the fall of the Religious Institution, culminating in Greek Philosophy and Ethics on the theoretic side, and Roman Law and Administration on the practical side, both sides being secular. That antique civilization was the mighty training of the race to a secular institutional life, which is our priceless heritage from it, but it ended in irreligion, with consequent decadence and evanishment. We have rejected the Religion of the Greeks and Romans, but they first rejected it themselves. We still retain, however, the essence of their Secular Institutions, their monogamy in the Family, for instance, their social jurisprudence, and many of their municipal and political arrangements.

(3) The next great institutional movement was the restoration of the Religious Institution to the Occident. This was the work of Christianity, whose supreme function was to bring back to civilization the God-consciousness which had been substantially lost in that antique world, whereby it was itself lost. In the fullness of time the



Church rises to view as the organized Religious Institution, asserting itself strongly, sometimes too strongly, as distinct from Family, Society, State, and all secular life. But the Church has had its evolutionary process, not by any means a tame one, from its primitive form through the medieval period down to the present.

IX. In regard to the Evolution of the Educative Institution it can be said that this is going on with a peculiar epoch-making energy just in the present age. The School in some form was undoubtedly implicit from the beginning in the institutional unit as Family, Tribe or Community. But it has been the last to unfold itself fully into an independent Institution, which it is doing just now in the most advanced countries of the world. Hitherto it has been largely kept under the tutelage of other Institutions, the Family, the State, and especially the Church. The fact that it is often supported by taxation does not make it a political Institution, though some politicians hold that view, and pervert it from its purpose. The Educative Institution may be said to be engaged at present in a struggle for freedom, it has declared and is fighting for its independence as an Institution co-equal and co-ordinate with the other Institutions, Secular and Religious — their strong supporter and ally, but not their menial. In a land of free Institutions, it must itself be a free Insti-

tution, whose supreme end is to train every born individual into being a free man, that is, free institutionally, not capriciously.

And here it ought to be added that this Institutional Psychology is properly the science of freedom, just that and nothing else, and moreover the only science of freedom. Hence it is the science which the on-coming free citizen should appropriate above all others; it shows him to himself in his institutional relations, which alone can make him a free man among free men in a free world. A people must have a science of itself, which expresses the fundamental fact of its life and its spirit; a free people must ultimately possess a free science, which is just the science of freedom. Natural Science is notoriously unfree, dominated wholly by the physical world of necessity, which characteristic usually goes over into the faith and philosophy of its one-sided devotees. Natural Science has no Free-Will, cannot have by virtue of its own limitation; still less has it a Free-Will which wills Free-Will, or any conception thereof. Hence it cannot furnish the method or even the concrete subject-matter for a science of Institutions, which is veritably the science of freedom from beginning to end. Natural Science has an important place in the curriculum of the Educative Institution, as it gives an element of the total process of human education; still it cannot

have the dominating place, which, in a free land, must be given just to the science of freedom. This is none other than the science of Institutions, which, we have to add, is not the Sociology of the present time.

X. *Summary.* We shall here give a brief abstract of the main distinctions and divisions elaborated in the preceding account, and thereby present the whole succeeding exposition in outline.

(a) The movement of the entire institutional world we have seen unfolding itself into the following three fundamental forms: —

- (I) The Secular Institution.
- (II) The Religious Institution.
- (III) The Educative Institution.

These are united in what we have called the institutional Psychosis, which is the process of Will actualizing itself, and which gives not only the one supreme division of the science, but likewise all the small divisions, thus unifying it and connecting it throughout in the one method of organization.

(b) Each of these Institutions, accordingly, has its own process, which is nevertheless a process common to them all. The divisions of this process are designated as follows: —

- (I) The positive element of the given Institution.
- (II) The negative element of the given Institution.

(III) The Evolution of the given Institution.

These three elements, though separately considered, are always brought together as stages of one process, which is also a Psychosis.

(c) In the historic development of the institutional world, as a whole, we start with the embryonic Institution out of which unfold the others, and which is the primitive Family. Passing over for the present this stage of institutional embryology, we observe in our Occidental civilization the three fundamental Institutions in the following historic evolution:—

(I) The Secular Institution, evolved definitely and separately in Greco-Roman antiquity.

(II) The Religious Institution, evolved definitely and separately in the Christian Church.

(III) The Educative Institution, now in the process of evolving itself into an independent Institution, especially in countries having free Institutions, which demand a science of freedom as the chief discipline of a free Educative Institution.

XI. *Actualized Will.* Already we have employed this formula as indicating the psychical source of the institutional world, and as uttering the genetic principle of the present work. Perhaps what we have already said about it is sufficient for some readers; but there are doubtless others who wish to have a more detailed explica-

tion of its meaning, even at the risk of having to peruse some repetitions. And here we may say that we shall often have to come back to it in the course of the following treatise, in order to keep before the mind the unitary principle of all the different Institutions in their varied development.

Institutions, then, are forms of actualized Will, entities produced by Will and endowed with Will for the purpose of securing and affirming Will. Their supreme end is the actualization of Free-Will in the world, or the complete fulfillment of man's aspiration for freedom. They have in them always a return to Will; the Ego as self-active creates the world of Institutions, which returns to the Ego and makes valid just that self-activity in every human being.

If we look about us, we have no difficulty in finding many instances of these Institutions, which are indeed an intimate part of ourselves, such as Family, State, Church, etc. Then we may observe manifold kinds of association among men, which go by the name of Institutions, such as a banking Institution, a benevolent Institution. The latter are mainly lesser forms or subordinate phases of the one great Social Institution which is to be considered later.

The Institution, as here treated, has therefore a kind of selfhood, yet is not a self, a person, or Ego; it is a Will existent in the world, not sim-

ply in the Ego or subject, but in an Object which is itself Will. This Object is accordingly, not merely a realization of the Will in some material thing or in conduct, but an actualization of the Will in an Institution.

The individual Will first makes itself real in a sensuous object, say, in a piece of wood, which it converts into a walking stick. Thus the external thing has the impress of my Will; all implements show the Ego of the maker realizing himself through his Will, he is thus real (*res*, a thing, an object). Still further, the Ego as Will performs an action, which contains his Self, and for which he is responsible. If I strike my neighbor, that blow is mine, it holds my intention or Will, in it I have realized myself. Now in both these cases, in what I make as well as in what I do, I may be said to have *realized* myself, I have made myself something external, I have put myself into a thing or into an act. But I have not yet truly *actualized* myself, that is, I have not yet made myself into an object which is itself Will and acts as Will. When I have completely externalized myself as Will through an act of my Will, I have called forth a new Will, namely the Will as actual Object, or the objective Will, which itself must will something, to be actual. It is thus a kind of new Self or Person, indeed my other Self, which I have separated from me, and made active, yea self-active, as we shall see.

When I in this way will my own selfhood as Will to be truly and completely objective, that is, when I actualize my Will, I am calling into existence the world of Institutions, and my Will is institutional, or ethical (as distinct from moral). The institutional Will, therefore, is that which is always actualizing itself, creating Institutions or making itself one with them.

The individual Will, accordingly, in this its highest stage is what produces the Institutional World; yet, on the other hand, this Institutional World, as Family, State, the Social Organism, existed already, and the human being was born into them. Still the individual has to produce, or rather, to re-produce them through his own activity; every man has to make anew his Institutional World, in order to possess it, even though it has been made before him and for him; his own creative will-power must be perpetually exerted in order to live the institutional life, which is truly the life of the spirit, both as secular and as religious. This is not merely an inner, emotional, or even moral life, but an objective, institutional, ethical life (ethical in the sense of the Greek *ethos*, and of the German *sittlich*).

Moreover, this individual Will, having actualized itself, having taken on an objective shape which is itself Will, has become universal. For the objective Will, which is the Institution, must will something, must have a content, purpose,

end. But what is this content, purpose, end of the objective Will or Institution? It is just Will, can be ultimately nothing else. The grand purpose of the Institutional World is to make the Ego as Will a fact, a positive existence; the Institution is itself a Will whose end is to establish Will in its complete process, and thus to constitute a living, active entity in the world, not simply as individual, but as universal *Will*.

The Institution, therefore, being a Will whose content or end is to establish, to safeguard, and to actualize Will, that is, all Wills whatsoever, has the characteristic of universality. This means not merely the common wish or volition of many or all Wills as particular individuals; the universal Will is what really secures, renders possible, and indeed creates the particular Will. The Institution, accordingly, returns to the individual Ego as Will, and makes it actual, renders it, first of all, a Will active in the world, existent, endowing it with a universality which is objective.

For example, let us take the State as an Institution. All the individuals in the State may have a common Will, they may to a man desire to annex a certain territory, but their particular Wills in this matter, however strong, cannot be made actual without the Institution whose purpose and function are to make Will actual. The State must be present to secure and to actualize



the common Will, it is not merely this common Will. Government does not exist through public opinion, but public opinion exists actually through government. To be sure, a certain form of government, or a certain way of administering a certain form of government, may depend upon public opinion, but government as such is before public opinion, and is what renders the same possible, and finally actual. The truth is, the Institution is implied in every act of the Ego as Will; I, this individual, when I will the simplest act, am calling forth the Institutional World. This exists in advance, as already said, still I none the less have to create it for myself.

It is often said that men must associate together, the human being has a native impulse to form a social order of some kind. The individual, in every act of his particular Will, calls for the universal Will, which alone can give true objectivity to his Will. The crudest social organization of the lowest savages has in it this element, and the highest Institution of civilized man shows the same fundamental fact. The science of association has to do essentially with the Institutional Will.

In the moral sphere, which has gone before the sphere of Institutions (see its place and treatment in *The Will and the World*), we saw the individual controlled by his sense of duty; he

willed to do the right which was also universal, nay, he rose to willing the good of all even against his own individual right. Still this good was his own conception of the good, it had reality only in himself, it was subjective, and so was subject to his own Ego. Thus in form it was still individual, not universal; it was not actualized in the world and commanding not merely his Ego but all Egos, it was not objective and institutional, having the authority of the living Institution. I must indeed obey my own conception of the good, which can be called my Universal, but my Universal may not be another man's Universal, and so is not universal at all. The Good must be made actual, existent, eternal; it must be given an active life in the world, independent of any particular Will, it must live when I am dead, it must be elevated out of its subjective condition into an Institution.

In such terms we seek to bring before ourselves the thought of the Will as a spiritual reality, having realized itself not simply in a thing, not even in a moral action merely, but as a new Self in the world, or a new Person as it were, whose function is to will the individual Will and thereby to make real the particular Person in a kind of universal Person. This reality, as already indicated, is better expressed by the term actuality when the latter is once fully understood, since it suggests the activity of the Will as its essence.

I, this puny individual, am to find in the Institutional World my elder and more powerful brother, indeed quite all-powerful, whose universal Will saves, safeguards, and finally actualizes my individual Self.

We say that this Institutional World is a spiritual realm, a veritable spirit-world, not visible as a material object or as a thing of Nature, yet the most solid fact of existence. What is man without the Social Order, without the State, Family, Church, Art, Literature, Science? All these belong to the Institutional World, are the invisible spirits dwelling in it, which we are now going to conjure, trying to make them assume shapes for the inner eye, for Thought, of which indeed they are the primal creation.

The realm of freedom is the Institutional World, whose whole nature is freedom made actual, not as a caprice, not even as a subjective command, but as an objective fact. The immediate, impulsive Will is not free, is not self-determined, but is determined by a feeling or impulse, which, though internal, is properly external to the free Will. The moral Will is subjectively free, but not completely, not actually free; the Stoic may be free in chains, or as a slave, but he cannot act as a freeman, his freedom having no sphere of action, no world to act in. But the Institutional World may be said to be just the sphere of the freeman, its chief func-

tion is to establish his free Will. It is true that the imperfect forms of Institutions manifest freedom imperfectly; but the whole development of the Institutional World from the dawn of History, the whole movement of Civilization is to perfect the free Institution. The end toward which History is moving is just the complete actuality of freedom. The Institutional Will, therefore, is truly the free Will, being one with the Institution, whose essence is the actualizing of free Will, the making it an active, living power in the world.

The individual Will is, accordingly, not free till it is made valid by the universal Will which is not subjective, but existent, actualized in an Institution. We may note again the three kinds of freedom here designated: the capricious, the moral, and the institutional; the last alone is true freedom, since the Will therein is determined by itself, even from the outside world. For the external Institution, as already said, is a Will, and a Will whose end, purpose, content is to render Will valid. That is, when the particular Will of the individual is willed by the universal Will, it *must* be free, for how can it escape? Freedom has become the very necessity of the Will; my free act, being made also the act of the Institution, or the universal Will, becomes universally free, being now the act of the universal Person as it were. Thus in the present sphere

Freedom and Necessity are no longer two conflicting irreconcilable opposites, but are harmonized; Necessity has joined hands with Freedom and compelled it to be. But in all lower stages of Will the dualism appears, must appear; an imperfect Freedom is always imperfect through an outside Necessity.

The student is now to see that every act of his individual Will, even the humblest, ideally implies its completion, which is actually the Institutional World. If I make a toothpick, I have realized my will in a small object for some finite end; but this realization of my Will, were it completed, would itself be Will; my act of volition, being the objectifying principle, must finally objectify itself as a whole; the act, the process must become the object, when it has fully realized itself. My Will, having realized itself in a toothpick, has shown its nature to be self-realization; it has to make itself a reality in the world, and this reality of itself is not a material object, but a Will which is active likewise, an actuality, an Institution.

Thus the Ego as an act of Will shows a going forth out of itself, a separation from itself; it is its *other*, it makes itself object. Such is the fundamental self-separation involved in all Will. But this object, separated by Will from itself, is finally itself, namely the objective or actualized Will. Herein the Ego as Will has returned into

itself, or, after going forth, it has found itself; through the stage of self-alienation it moves into self-reconciliation in the realm of Institutions.

So we bring to an end this account of actualized Will as the direct psychical source of the institutional world. Drawing an analogy from embryology, we may call it the psychical embryo of Institutions, their seed in the soul of man. This stage we must distinguish from the Family, which is the institutional embryo, that is the germinal Institution from which are derived all the rest. Or, taking the illustration from biology, we may say that the primal psychical cell of Institutions is actualized Will, but the primal institutional cell itself (which is the psychical cell in its first actuality) is the Family. The reader will, of course, understand that these are but illustrations of the thing, not the thing itself, which is not a physical object but the Self, Ego, and is ultimately to be grasped in its own right, as it is in itself, and not through an analogy or illustration. Actualized Will is a thought, which is finally to be seized in its purity, that is, by the Thinking which creates it purely.

XII. *Historical.* Already the statement has been emphasized that the present work makes no claims to be a Sociology in the ordinary sense of the term. To be sure, it is our opinion that, as

the old Political Economy has broadened itself out into Social Science, so the latter will have to broaden itself out into Institutional Science. In fact, signs are not wanting that this movement has already begun. Social Science cannot know itself without knowing at the same time State, Church and School.

Sociology traces its name and origin to Comte, who places it at the culmination of his six great sciences. With him it clearly depends upon physical science, or rather is a physical science; in fact he seemed more inclined at one time to call it Social Physics than Sociology, and made it the second division of Organic Physics, of which Physiology (Biology) was the first. On the same general line Sociology is carried forward by Herbert Spencer, notwithstanding his differences from Comte, and through Spencer it has passed down to the present time, amid a good many amplifications, deflections and protests. Nearly all recent sociologists unite in saying that Sociology must take Psychology as its starting-point and not Biology; even Spencer says something of the kind in spite of his practice to the contrary. But when we come to look into the Psychology of the sociologists, we find it to be usually Physiological Psychology, that is, more biological than psychological. What, then, is gained by the substitution? Here, indeed, lies one of the main difficulties of present

Sociology; it has not yet found out quite how to set itself in order. The result is its votaries have given themselves up almost wholly to experimentalism, to special studies of small patches which at last form monographic mountains, to unorganized observations which constitute an amorphous undisciplined mass of particulars, at most the crude materials of a science in the future. But cannot we too have a little order in our present life, or are we condemned to live in everlasting chaos that coming generations may enjoy the cosmos?

We confess that we have tried to run a new line through this Science of Human Association from beginning to end, a line that does not pass through Comte and his successors, though the value of their work and the enormous impetus given by them to the study of Institutions must be always duly recognized. This line properly reaches back to the old Greek thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, both of whom have left great institutional works, for such we must deem Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*. Still they have no completely actualized Institution which secures Free-Will, since both disregard it in important cases, Plato for instance by his communistic scheme and Aristotle by his advocacy of slavery.

Passing at once to the great thinkers of our own age, we naturally begin with Kant, who has had a profound and lasting influence upon Moral



Science but who never rose to an adequate conception or treatment of Institutional Science. Fichte, his immediate successor and the promulgator of subjective idealism, could not by means of such a doctrine do much with objective Institutions, though he treated of them in different portions of his career. But the greatest in this German series is Hegel, who has more profoundly expressed and developed the institutional idea than any other one of the world-famous thinkers. This is specially seen in that part of his system which he calls *Objective Spirit*, and which, in our opinion, is the most fruitful portion of his philosophy.

Thus we draw our institutional line through Hegel from whom are derived most valuable thoughts and suggestions. He calls the State "the actuality (*Wirklichkeit*) of the substantial Will," and again "the actualization (*Verwirklichung*) of freedom." (*Phil des Rechts* s. 306 and 311.) What use we make of this thought has already appeared and will continue to appear throughout the present book. But here we have to note his limitation. He applies this thought to the State, but not to the whole institutional world, not even to the entire sphere of the Secular Institution, at least not clearly and distinctly. Still further, Hegel has no developed Religious Institution and no developed Educative Institution organically connected

with his system. Both must be added to and unfolded from the germinal thought which he has given. He has devoted a large work to Religion as such, but in that work the Religious Institution has a very subordinate part, though it certainly appears. He discusses the Church in some paragraphs externally appended to his treatise on the State (see *Phil. des Rechts*, s. 325), which fact shows it to have no place in his organized system of Institutions. As to education, he has many weighty remarks about it scattered throughout his works, but no Educative Institution.

The science of Institutions, therefore, after developing into and through Hegel, must again emphatically develop out of him. Such is the highest use to which he or any great thinker can be put. He is not to be battered down by argumentation from without directed against him, but is to be unfolded from the inside into a higher reality. The great thinker usually suffers a double mistreatment — from his foes and from his friends; but he is not to be externally refuted by the one set, nor is he to be internally crystallized by the other. What Hegel says he did to or rather did for Spinoza, must be done for Hegel himself. He states that he “elevated Spinoza’s doctrine of Substance into the higher point of view,” and did not undertake to refute it as a false system. He made it generate the

Conception (*Begriff*), which was his own higher doctrine. Thus he connects the movement of his own thought with that of Spinoza (see his *Logik*, s. 9-11) and also with that of Kant. Such is Hegel's principle, that of development, and certainly he is not to be excluded from the working of his own principle. The philosophic blight comes when the disciple turns literalist, rehearsing the categories of the master without making them over into himself and transcending them. And we may add that Hegel's dialectical method must also be transformed and become a psychological method, before it can be employed for the science of Institutions, as the latter is here conceived. For such a purpose the psychical process itself must be taken; that is, the inherent process of the Self alone can penetrate and order the works of the Self, to which Institutions belong. An alien physical or metaphysical method can never fraternize with or even reach into the institutional soul and its movement. Only that within us which is like Institutions can assimilate them. The psychical process above mentioned, which moves through and organizes the institutional world we have already designated as the Psychosis. (For a fuller treatment of this subject, we may be permitted to refer to our special work, *Psychology and the Psychosis*, Introduction, et passim).

*SECTION FIRST.—THE SECULAR  
INSTITUTION.*

The sphere of Social Institutions begins with what we here call the Secular Institution, or the secular institutional world, which has three main forms—Family, Society, State. The idea of secularity is, in general, the idea of terrestrial existence; it suggests that which belongs to life here and now; it pertains to the temporal element, rather than to the eternal, wherein lies an implied contrast with the Religious Institution.

The Secular Institutions (for we shall also use the plural to indicate the divisions) are not Persons, cannot be called Egos, though they be forms of Free-Will actualized, whose end is ultimately to secure Free-Will. Family, Society,

State, though not Persons, may be called Personifications in the strict sense of the term; they are made by the Person to act as a Person in willing Free-Will. The essence of secularity is the individual Self institutionalized, made objective and universal — a Self willing the freedom of all particular Selves, though these have also to will it, and to be perpetually re-creating it that they all be free. Herein we may see the ground-plan of all human association.

Thus in the Secular Institution I create or re-create the universal Will or Person at its center, which is my act of Personification in the sense above given. But in the Religious Institution the universal Person at its center creates me, and the whole universe besides — and that is His act of Personification (or Person-making). I am to submit my individual Will, first of all, to His universal Will, which, however, is to will my freedom.

Manifestly both Institutions, the Secular and the Religious, are forms of actualized Will whose end or content is Free Will, hence both are classed as Institutions. Yet they are two diverse, yea two opposite forms of actualized Will, the one coming from the human or finite Ego, and the other coming from the divine or absolute Ego.

The general movement, accordingly, of the Secular Institution is that it starts with the individual Will, then unfolds into the objective

form or organism of itself, which is Will actualized and at work in the world, whose end is to secure, to complete, and to vivify the individual Will, bringing the same to its ultimate fulfillment. Thus the Ego as Will reaches its true being and enforces itself as an actual existence, at the same time being made universal, for all.

For example, Society (as the Economic Institution) starts with the individual Will in the form of appetite or bodily need, which calls forth just this Social Order or Will actualized for the end of satisfying the wants of the body and other wants. Thus man must satisfy his appetite not immediately, but through the Social Institution, which in turn is evoked just through his wants, and which is, therefore, their end, or the ultimate ground of their being. That is, through his wants the individual is compelled to be social, to make Society, to live a universal life in order to exist as an individual.

The Will of man is, in the first place, immediate, gifted with the power of objectifying itself, of making itself into something outside of itself, which act is the primal assertion of self. Equally valid is the second stage of the Will, which must be able to suppress itself, to hold itself back from its own immediate act, whereby it separates within from itself, and, so to speak, puts down itself. The third stage shows the Will in full possession of itself just through this power of

self-suppression; it now asserts itself not immediately and impulsively, but with its reserved strength of self-control.

The foregoing process is the psychical movement of the Ego in all individual Will, which takes the form of Desire, Impulse, Motive. Every Institution starts in the human being with some Desire, which is first immediate, secondly is inhibitory of itself, then thirdly inhibits the inhibition and returns to itself, therein attaining to mastery of Desire. (For a fuller account of this process of Desire see our *Will and its World*, p. 105, 117, etc.)

Now it is through this process of Desire that the individual develops into and participates in the institutional world. He desires a loaf of bread which is the property of another, so he inhibits his immediate Desire or Impulse to seize it till he earns it and receives it from the Social Whole, through which he inhibits his own inhibition and takes the bread. Thus his individual Will, here his Desire, is institutionalized, is made to pass through the social alembic before it can be gratified. In this way all Desires or all individual Wills can be satisfied (relatively speaking) by first satisfying the Institution (Society) whose function is just to satisfy the individual Will in the form of Desire.

In like manner we may consider sexual Desire. As immediate or as natural passion it must be

inhibited; but this inhibition is removed through the Institution, the Family, which transfigures physical Desire into domestic Love. Thus rises out of the sensuous, immediate, particular Will a new Will, whose end is to bring forth the freedom of the person in and through the Institution, leading all individuals into the way of the universal life, which is institutional.

The preceding process also includes the three grand stages of Will, the psychological, the moral, and the institutional. The immediate form of Will is purely psychical and has no moral character; but when the inhibition comes in, morality has appeared, for I suppress my immediate Desire in view of some ideal end or of some duty; my higher self perchance puts down my lower self. Finally, when this ideal end is actualized in an Institution, we have reached the grand culmination of the movement of all Will, the end which includes all other ends.

The Secular Institution, has, accordingly, to actualize the secular Will of man, to transform the immediate sensuous being of the individual in his daily life and occupations. Secular existence is devoted to making a living, to raising a family, to performing the duties of a citizen, to following a vocation. Such employments go back to some form of individual Desire which is to be elevated and made institutional; whereby



not one man, but all can have their Desires and can be therein free, of course through the Institution, whose object is just to secure this freedom.

Again at this point rises the contrast between the secular and the religious worlds. St. Crispin, making a shoe and selling it to get his bread, performs a secular act, though he be a saint, and is through such an act a member of the Secular Institution. But St. Crispin making a shoe and giving it to the poor at the command of God performs a religious act and is a member of the Religious Institution, since he yields up his own immediate Will and its product to another Will, the highest, which subordinates his shoemaking to quite a new end. Now, the Saint's Will is to subject itself and all its works to the Absolute Will, and from this act of self-renunciation springs his religiosity, or perchance his saintship.

Still we must see that the Saint also just in such a deed has fulfilled his individual Desire, which is to subject his individual Desire to the Absolute Will. Thus we behold the dualism in the religious Will as contrasted with the secular Will; the one actualizes itself in an Institution which vindicates and guarantees the individual Will as such (secular); but the other actualizes itself in an Institution which makes valid the subjection of the individual Will through itself (religious). Still we are to see that both Institutions have the one great ultimate end

which makes them institutional; both are actualized Free Will which wills Free Will.

Such is the general thought of the Secular Institution as actualized Will, which is now to be seen unfolding itself into Family, Society, State, which are not passively distinct, but are in a process with one another. All these Institutions look after the reproduction of the Person, the existence and the perpetuity of the Self, which is the sacred thing, or when more profoundly seen into, is the only thing in this universe. The Person must first *be* (through the Family), then must *live* (through Society), finally must live *free* (through the State). Deeply inter-connected are these three Institutions, forming, as it were, a triple interlinking chain of three psychical rings — each a Psychosis in itself, yet all three together a Psychosis.

Before passing to the special treatment of each, we shall seek to emphasize their salient characteristics, as well as their unity, by way of introduction, hoping thereby to impress upon the mind of the reader in advance their inter-connection, which is the main purpose of the present exposition.

I. *The Family.* This is the Institution whose end is to secure the Reproduction of the Person simply and immediately, as a total individual. Through this Institution the individual is first brought into the institutional world, and is reared

to participate in the same. Through the Family the human being begins to exist by the deed and care of others, the parents, and from this purely external starting-point he enters the long road of his unfolding into a free man. The Family, then, is that form of actualized Will whose object is to bring forth into the world a Free Will, creating the same in a Person and starting it off on its career of self-development. Thus in the Family also we must see the Institution as actualized Free Will, whose ultimate end is to secure Free Will, in the present case by bringing it into existence, that is, into an institutional existence.

The Family is, accordingly, the real genus or generic principle generating and thus preserving humanity in its infancy; it is the Institution as creative, creating the individual as Person and starting him in his physical and also in his institutional life. But it is also the creative Institution as creative of all other Institutions, carrying its genetic energy through the whole institutional world. We may deem it the primordial institutional cell, source of all that follow; it is truly the potential Institution which is to realize itself in the forthcoming development.

II. *Society*. This is the Institution whose end is to secure the Reproduction of the Person as physical and institutional individual through himself, through his own activity, which realizes

itself in property. That is, the individual working in and through Society, now reproduces himself, his own body primarily, and also his own environing world of wealth and property. Food, raiment, and shelter come to him not immediately, but through the Social Institution, which, however, must be set in motion by his effort. He must give to it what it gives back to him. The Family presents to him (as a child) food, raiment, and shelter, without his own activity; Society makes such a present to him only through his activity in some form. Thus the social gift is a mediated one, while the domestic gift is an immediate one.

Society is that form of actualized Will which has first to make Free Will a reality in the thing or in the material realm which thereby becomes *Property*. Surrounding the individual everywhere is a world of Property, which is the existence of the Person in the material object. Here too the social Institution must be seen to be actualized Free Will, whose ultimate end is to secure Free Will, in the present case by guarding the life of the individual from the many vicissitudes of Nature.

III. *The State*. This is the Institution whose end is to secure the Reproduction of the Person through the universal Will in the form of Law. The individual working in and through the State, is under the protection of the Law,

which is the formulated command to secure his Will. The State is, then, that form of actualized Will, which explicitly and consciously declares its own principle of actualized Will in the Law. The Secular Institution becomes, so to speak, conscious of itself in the State, and also utters that consciousness of itself in its ultimate end, which is freedom. For in the State man becomes, or is to become, consciously free, free through the Law and Institution.

The State, knowing its own purpose to be actualized Will which is to secure Will, can now go back and secure Family and Society, which are otherwise helpless and implicit forms of actualized Will. This fact is expressed in the usual formula that the function of the State is to secure Person and Property, as both are insecure without the State returning to them and safe-guarding them through its self-conscious purpose uttered in the Law.

Such are the three forms of the Secular Institution — Family, Society, State. In all three, as above formulated, we may observe the common end, *the Reproduction of the Person*; this Person being given as the germ or the potential unit of humanity, is to be unfolded into complete institutional life. But the Reproduction of the Person takes different shapes in the different Institutions; in the Family he is immediately reproduced, is born as an individual Will; in

Society he is reproduced through himself in the external world, which he appropriates or makes his *Property*; in the State he is reproduced as willing his own self-reproduction in the *Law*. Hence the Person is not fully reproduced till he develops into his institutional heritage, taking it up into his spirit and making it internal. In brief, we may say that the Person is born in the Family, is realized (*res*, thing) in Society, and is actualized in the State (*actus*, pertaining to the Will). The Secular Institution, accordingly, takes the seedling Ego, and nurtures it into the full stature of the Person as a domestic, social, and political being. Thus each (the Person and the Secular Institution) reproduces the other in and through the other.

Nor must we stop with conceiving these three forms of the Secular Institution as simply united in a common principle, giving, as it were, a fixed or dead result. We must see them active, and so uniting themselves by their innermost psychical process, which is the Psychosis, showing the three stages — immediate, separative and returning. The careful reader will have already felt or perchance consciously observed this movement in the preceding exposition. For the Family shows the Person immediately reproduced; Society shows the Person separating himself within as Will and externalizing himself as Property; the State shows the Person returning upon

himself and securing himself and his activity through the Law. The returning principle of the State we can see expressed in the formula: the State is that form of actualized Will whose end is to secure the actualization of Will. It is the Law whose content is to safeguard the Will both as inner Person and outer Property, and it is the State which makes and administers the Law. We may add here that the Family is the immediate, implicit, potential principle out of which all Institutions unfold as their germ, as their primal reproductive source; it generates not only Persons but Institutions.

We may here repeat the fact that each form of the Secular Institution starts with the individual Will as Desire. The sexual appetite propels man into the Family, the bodily wants call forth the Social Order, the impulse of the Will to freedom makes for the State. Now all these Desires are not to be gratified individually and directly, but through the Institution. Their immediate gratification would be destructive of Free-Will as universal, and man would drop back into a condition of violence. Hence the individual Will in every form of Desire must be institutionalized, ere even the purpose of that Desire can be attained, and men can live together in freedom.

But just at this point the element negative to the Secular Institution and to all Institutions

enters and asserts itself. The individual Will by virtue of its freedom can refuse to be institutionalized, and can follow its own immediate spontaneous Desire, which destroys the freedom of others. Thus a destroying principle comes into the institutional world at its very source, namely the individual Will.

Hence each Secular Institution will have within itself a descending stream, a receding movement which tends to carry it back to the beginning in mere individual Desire, and thus to reduce man to barbarism. All modern society is known to have this retrogressive current in its bosom; indeed with this is its chief battle. Man is forever lapsing from civilization to savagery, and the migration backwards never ceases.

But there is also the counter current, the movement forwards out of savagery to civilization, which is just the advance of the institutional world. In fact we must see that the mentioned descent of Institutions is not only the counterpart but the necessary condition of their ascent; the two are parts of one process. Without the fall, there can be no rise; without something to overcome, there is no overcoming. All progress, all evolution has in it a negative antecedent or co-efficient, which is not to be left out of the account. History, recording construction cannot omit destruction without destroying itself. And in the institutional world, alongside of human ameliora-



tion runs a strange infernal, Stygian river of human deterioration. Yet both are factors of the one vast, all-encompassing social process, and both must be reckoned with in any complete exposition of the present theme.

In the Family, State, and Society, therefore, we must expect to find this negative movement, which will even organize itself against the Institution — an Institution to destroy the Institution. In the Family there will be a reversion to mere sexual appetite; in Society a reversion to pure individual greed manifested alike in rich and poor; in the State a reversion to brute Will whose end is to violate Person and Property. The result is that inside the Institution there is a grand descent, a fall backward to its very beginning.

Accordingly in each Secular Institution we shall have the positive, the negative, and the evolutionary stages, which together make its constitutive process as a form of actualized Will.

Once more we may glance back and take a brief survey of the three Secular Institutions apart and together. Through the Family the Person gets to be, through Society he gets to live, through the State he gets to live a freeman. Thus the Secular Institutions give birth, maintenance, freedom, not simply as natural, but as institutional. Varying the expression somewhat, we may say: the Family wills the Free-Will to

be born, Society wills the Free-Will to be sustained, the State wills the Free-Will to be Free-Will. Thus the State turns back to the others and secures them along with itself as Free-Will. Here it may be well to repeat once more that the ideal end of the whole institutional world is Free-Will actualized, or the more and more complete actualization of freedom.

*CHAPTER FIRST. — THE FAMILY.*

The Family has long been recognized in a general way as the first of man's Social Institutions, foundation and source of the rest. We may indeed call it supremely the creative Institution, in which takes place the genesis of both man and of his Institutions. It is the primordial genetic unit, out of which are born both the Person and the Institutional World, or the individual subjective Self and the universal objective Self (as Institution).

We must not, however, forget its immediate psychical starting-point, which is the Will, in the present case the Will as sexual desire, which drives man into the Family. But this Will as desire has as its ideal end freedom or Free-Will

which actualizes itself in an Institution, primarily that of the Family, whose lower forms may be simply Will actualized, but whose destiny is to be Free-Will actualized, that is, an existent, objective Free-Will which secures Free-Will in all the members of the Family.

The Family is that Institution which brings a Free-Will into existence, not only physically but morally and intellectually; it, therefore, can be seen to be an actualized Free-Will itself, that is, a Free-Will existent, objective, whose end is to will Free-Will. This does not mean that such an end always lies consciously in the parent of every child, though it may in certain cases. But in general, the Family being the primary Institution, has the institutional end as implicit, unconscious, potential; as instinct, as emotion, as love. The individual through love becomes a member of the domestic Institution, and surrenders himself to its end; yet in this self-surrender he wins his freedom.

The physical presupposition of the Family is the sexual individual, in whom is manifested Nature's deepest dualism, that of sex. At the same time the sexual individual longs to transcend his halfness and to become whole through one of the opposite sex. Thereby he shows himself as generic or generative — not merely individual but also species, reproducing himself as individual. Thus he is not merely a man, but ideally man-

kind. Upon this ideal element in sex the domestic Institution is built, and domestic love has in it the double ingredient, physical and institutional.

The end of the Family, then, as actualized Free-Will, is the reproduction of the human individual as a new Free-Will in the world. In and through the Family the child is to be begotten, to have nurture (both pre-natal and post-natal), and to receive its first education, till the Educative Institution can take it and carry forward its training. Through the Institution of the Family the child is not simply born, but is born into the world of Institutions, and begins its career as an institutional being.

The destiny of the child is to become an independent individual, specially independent of the Family which has reared him. Thus the Family, starting with the individual, has returned to the same, being the instrument of his re-creation. But this independent individual must in turn enter the Family and re-create that; therein he wills into existence that Institution which has willed him into existence. With such a content in his life he is truly ethical, possessing and practicing the primary institutional virtue.

Biologically the Family has a close correspondence with the plant, which starts with the seed, blooms and unfolds into stem, flower, fruit, and then returns to the seed, its starting-point.

Such is the vegetable cycle of Reproduction, which bears such a striking analogy to the domestic cycle, beginning with the reproductive individual and returning to the same, not simply through Nature however, but through the Institution. If the Family corresponds to the plant, Society bears more resemblance to the animal, and the State has its likeness to the Ego, being the self-conscious Institution.

Thus the Family is to institutionalize or make ethical the sexual individual. Starting with desire, he is not to gratify it immediately, but through the Institution. He must inhibit sexual propensities till they be transformed by their institutional end in the Family. Sensuality destroys the Family on one side, celibacy destroys it also on the other; indulgence and prohibition can be equally negative to domestic life.

Every human being is (or ought to be) born into the Family, and consequently born to reproduce it, when he completes himself. He can only actualize himself as an institutional person through the Family; to be completely himself he must reproduce his origin, and generate his own process in other individuals, who are to be institutional like himself.

The man and the woman, being distinct and separate by Nature, become spiritually one in the Family, which, though not a Person or an Ego, has nevertheless a kind of Personality, being a

Will over both, to which both have to subject themselves in order to get and to beget themselves, thus attaining their true destiny in that higher unity out of which both of them sprang. In the Family they share in a loftier Personality which is much more than either of them alone, for through it both are endowed with the ability to re-create and perpetuate themselves physically and spiritually — a new immortality — at the same time re-creating and perpetuating that loftier Personality itself through their active participation.

The Family does not rest on purchase, though the wife may once have been bought directly, and indirectly may be still (at present the husband is oftener bought). The Family is not a contract, though contract may enter as one of its relations to external affairs. The Family, we must repeat, is an Institution, the earliest form of actualized Free-Will whose end is to secure and to produce Free-Will.

The human being (man and woman) has to belong to the Family and to keep up its process, in order to be completely himself, that is, in order to be an objective, actual Self, in possession of his own creative power. He may hold aloof from the Family, but then he is not actually institutional; his life is but partial without its domestic integrity. Thus the Family, while its end is the physical and spiritual reproduction of the indi-

vidual as a member of the human race, at the same time makes the life of us all truly rational, an actuality. For the rational person exists actually only in so far as he is creative, yea self-creative, reproducing himself as rational, and such he can be only through the Family. His physical Self he may indeed reproduce outside the Family, for he too is an animal, but not his spiritual, institutional Self, not his totality morally and intellectually as well as physically.

Of course there are other Institutions besides the Family, other forms of actualized Will, which are to be hereafter unfolded. But the Family is what makes the human individual truly appear, giving him to the world, yea to himself. The Family thus is supremely the first giver of man, who in the Family is a given object, even a present unto himself. To be sure, he must move out of this given, passive state, and become himself also the giver of himself. In Society we shall find that he must be active and must labor, in order to rehabilitate his own body, which he has to be always giving to himself.

In the Family we have, accordingly, the following process: (*a*) the sexual individual, endowed with his immediate natural Will or Desire; (*b*) the Institution, which unites and subjects the two sexes as separate individual Wills, in a higher actualized Will whose end is (*c*) the reproduction of the individual, who is to be un-



folded till he be ready to go through the same cycle. In this movement we see that a certain phase of the individual Will (sexual) actualizes itself in the corresponding Institution (Family), and through the latter returns to itself in the offspring, the new individual, in whom the parents may well behold their seemingly realized immortality, though this alas! sometimes vanishes before their eyes. But through the Family the human individual asserts himself as universal, generic, reproducing not only his own body but his own soul along with all the possibilities of the race. He vindicates his power to be not merely himself, limited within himself, but creative of Self, a new center of creation, fulfilling therein his divine destiny. Thus he is the universal man, generic, the actual objective genus homo, not the potential subjective one, having actualized himself through the Family.

We may re-think briefly the various characteristics of the Family in the following statement. It is an *Institution*, being actualized Free-Will, which wills Free-Will by reproducing the Person; it is *secular*, and not religious, as this Institution does not demand the subordination of the human individual Will directly to the absolute Will, though the Family, like the other secular Institutions, has its religious side; it is the *first Institution*, since the institutional world must start with the human individual, and it is the

Family which brings into existence this starting point, namely the human individual, and gives to him his first training to an institutional life.

In another sense we may regard the Family as the first Institution. It contains implicitly all the Institutions which are to follow — social, political, religious, educative. It is the primal institutional germ or potentiality which is to develop into separate forms — a fact to be noted both in its thought and in its history. A domestic stage we shall find in Society, State, Religion and Education, which, however, is not permanent, but develops out of its infantile condition.

We shall now seek to unfold the process of the Domestic Institution, which will reveal the movement of the Ego in its three stages. Hence we shall look at the Family ordering itself primarily through the psychical movement.

I. *The Positive Family*; this shows the Institution, as it is, immediately; we wish, first of all, to grasp the Family in its present state of development, as far as this has gone among the most advanced peoples. Hence we here give the conception of the monogamous Family, which, however, has preserved in it deeply negative elements. These are perpetually dissolving it anew, reducing it to the beginning. So we have the counter process.

II. *The Negative Family*; this brings to the surface the stream which is always running in opposition to the Positive Family, showing the tendency to revert to former and lower stages of the Domestic Institution. Thus the Family divides within itself into two currents, one backward and one forward, the regressive and the progressive. It is the fall or the descent of the Family going back to the beginning in the individual of Nature, who becomes emptied of his whole institutional content. But this is also the point of ascent, from which man rose and evolved the Domestic Institution as it exists to-day.

III. *The Evolution of the Family*; this will show the historic unfolding of the Family, which, however, proceeds in psychical order. Here we observe the return out of separation and descent; man is seen overcoming the negative element which whirls him downwards. All Evolution is the transcending of limits which have become repressive and hence destructive. In the present case the evolutionary goal is the ideal of the Family, which is always insisting on a more perfect realization in new forms.

Evolution, then, is only one phase or stage in the total process of the Family. In like manner we shall find that Evolution does not embrace the whole science of Institutions; there must be its counterpart, a devolution or descent, to make it possible. Also there must be that from which

is the descent as well as that toward which is the ascent, in order to have the whole process. So we start from and return to the Positive Family.

Such is the general movement of the Family, which will be found to be in correspondence with that of the other social Institutions. Before plunging into details, it is well for us to recall the unitary principle which weaves through and connects the whole. The Family, springing from the Will, which is itself a phase or an activity of the Ego, gets its organizing process from the Psychosis, whose threefold movement throws its search-light over the grand sweep of the total Institution, as well as into every little corner of the household. This is the genetic thread which the earnest reader is to be continually reproducing in himself as he follows the course of the succeeding exposition, since thus he is ideally re-creating the Family.

### I. THE POSITIVE FAMILY.

Our first attempt will be to grasp the elements of the Family as they exist before us, immediately; to give its process as we behold it every day. This we call its positive side or phase, in contrast to the negative or destructive elements, which are likewise at work continually in the Domestic Institution. Or we might name this

first phase the conception or idea of the Family, in so far as it has unfolded into present reality. Thus we seek to give the norm of the Family or the normal Family.

As we shall see later, it has taken the race a long time to reach this point. For the people of the Occident, the monogamous principle of the Family is the valid one, which, however, has been evolved through the ages. Among most of the civilized peoples of Asia, polygamy maintains its hold, but even there it is said to be declining.

In the positive process of the Family we shall note three leading stages: the sexual pair must get married, must found a home, and should realize themselves in the child, which is the aim and end of the Institution. So we have the three following stages of the Positive Family which constitute its process: —

I. *Marriage*; this may be deemed the birth of the Family through the love of the sexual pair, which love, however, must have the triple Confirmation, ere it find its full fruition in the Domestic Institution.

II. *The Home*; this arises primarily from the separation of the pair from their respective households, and the formation of a new one, their own Home, which reveals its inherent character in a triple Domestication.

III. *The Child*; this is the end and actuality of the new Family, which brings into the world

a new Free-Will, or the possibility thereof, and thus shows itself as the preserver of the race and its Institutions.

In the preceding process we may see the Family *born* through Marriage, *realized* through the Home, *actualized* through the Child, who is potentially at least a Free-Will whose destiny is to will Free Will, or one who is to become a free man. Thus is the Family truly an Institution, an actualized Will which is to secure Will by bringing it into existence and thereby to perpetuate it. The birth of the Child is a Will new-born, which means a new creative center in the universe. These outlines we shall fill up with the more important details.

I. MARRIAGE. There are many gradations of Marriage, as is only too well known; still in every soul which can be called institutional there is an ideal of married life, a sense of what constitutes its completeness. It is not to be merely a physical union, not to be merely a legal union, though it has its physical side and must be according to law, nor is it to be simply a partnership for some external purpose (*mariage de convenance*), nor simply an emotional union dependent on the whiffs of caprice.

Marriage is to possess the stability of the institutional world itself, and is to be dissolved only in order to protect the Institution of the Family as a whole. An eternal element lies with-

in it, which is to be secured by three Confirmations—a personal, a civil, and a religious Confirmation. The Individual, the State and Religion are all to put their seal upon Marriage, participating in it and confirming it with their respective sanctions. Earth and Heaven as well as the human Soul get married in the Marriage of man and woman. This fact is to be considered more fully.

I. *The Inner Confirmation.* The union of the sexual pair must be first internal, before it can be made external, acknowledged, and confirmed before the whole world. This subjective side of the Family is its originative starting-point; from the depths of the soul springs an inner inclination which fuses the two individuals into one life and one hope as well as into one purpose of existence. The Ego, penned up within its own walls, finds itself alone, and of its own nature breaks forth and seeks to be itself through another. Such is the primal act of Love: the individual sacrifices himself to and for another, and thereby regains himself. The Self refuses to exist solely for itself; Love first compels it to renounce selfishness and to attain selfhood through another Self.

Love is the primary, instinctive, most natural appearance of the institutional element in human nature. It is a personal feeling, yet a personal feeling which subordinates every other personal

feeling to itself. Thus it commands the individual, and this command is so compelling that it seems some objective power which rules the soul. Yet it is the soul's own supreme gift, which demands not only gratification but re-creation. Love is the primal manifestation of the Self as generic, and means not simply this individual's passion, but ideally the whole human race, the *genus homo*. The individual is literally to immortalize himself through Love, for as individual he is bound to perish, but as species he perpetuates himself, makes himself eternal.

Man and woman, then, are the two individuals, who in their rigid, mutually excluding limits are to be smelted into a new unity by the fires of Love, till each receives and acknowledges the inner Confirmation of this unity as lasting. Whereof we note the following process.

(1) Rising out of our unconscious life comes an inclination which gradually or perchance quite suddenly shapes itself into a conscious selection of a person of the opposite sex. Vision usually starts this activity, but it is the soul which chooses just the one out of many. Why? From some innate congruity or fore-ordained harmony of natures, it is often said; at least here is the transition out of the unconscious into the conscious; Love steps from behind its impenetrable veil and asserts itself in a personal preference; before this choice it was merely the possibility of choice and hence



unfathomable. The soul in the present relation might be defined as the potentiality of all Love, which, however, is called forth into reality by the presence of the right person. What brings the two together? According to the ancients this was the work of the God, Aphrodite, Cupid, Eros; at any rate Love has this element of external determination, which lends to it what is often deemed its pre-destined or God-sent character. But still more decisively does it possess an inner self-unfolding power, which is evoked by suitable stimulation; the soul is Love as God is Love.

(2) But Love is twofold, there must be two parties, who show a mutual emotion. Two Loves there are, separate, individual in their origin, yet these two are in order to be one. The tie must be reciprocal, each must sacrifice himself and herself in order to regain the Self which is the unity of both through both, and out of which the Institution is to develop.

But just here lies the possibility of separation, of the inner conflict of Love. The emotion may not be reciprocal, there may be the sacrifice of the one Self without the response of the other. Thus there is the surrender without the mediation through the other; the result is that deep inner scission in the soul which is known as unrequited Love. It is one of the most common themes of Literature, since every human heart has had some touch of this pang, which has

indeed manifold sources and forms, and which has been wrought over and over into song, sonnet, drama, opera, novel. Apparently sunny Italy has been most susceptible to this phase of Love's conflict, which has been fervidly uttered by Petrarch (Laura) and by Dante (Beatrice), and also by Shakespeare in *Romco* and *Juliet*, that marvelous Italian echo in English.

(3) The scission is healed by the betrothal. Each is made conscious of the other's devotion, gives and receives the pledge of fidelity. This pledge affirms the permanent nature of their emotion, which is the basic principle of the Institution. When both have acknowledged the eternal element in their inclination, it is ready to be made real, to pass out of its subjective state into the objective Institution, which calls up a new Confirmation.

2. *The External Confirmation.* To give validity to the permanent element of Love, which, as already said, is the institutional element of the Family, this is to be acknowledged and confirmed by the institutional world. As the new Family is a secular Institution, the realm of secular Institutions is to recognize and to receive it, thus making it a part of itself.

(1) The respective Families of the betrothed have a certain right of Confirmation. That the daughter, for instance, should transfer her allegiance from one Family to another, requires ap-

proval of the parents, who have reared her as their own. Disregard of the one relation means logically the disregard of the other. The parent in *Othello* declares: "As she (the daughter) has deceived me, so she will thee" — which may be considered one motive of Othello's later jealousy.

Still here it is possible for the parent to ignore or destroy the Right of Love, which has asserted itself subjectively as the paramount element of the Family. In these conflicts between the choice of the daughter and the command of the parent lies the chief stress of most of Shakespeare's comedies. This poet universally favors the right of the daughter, and therein is in harmony with the spirit of the modern world.

In general, however, it must be affirmed that the two Families of the betrothed should confirm the subjective will of the pair, and thus help make it into a reality, not only through consent, but also through cession of property, marriage portions, gifts, etc.

(2.) Not only the Family is to confirm Marriage, but the State especially is to be its guardian. The grand function of the State is to secure Free-Will through the Law, so that it must secure even the subjective promise, which is a form of obligation. Still further, the State enforces marriage-contracts, and it defines and vindicates certain rights which spring from the

married relation. Chiefly the State is to safeguard the institutional element, which begins in the emotions. For the State is just that Institution which is to secure Institutions, and hence it takes all stages of the rising Family under its protection. To be sure there is a subjective side which the State cannot reach; it cannot make whole the broken heart, even if it punish the transgressor.

(3.) The civil ceremony of Marriage is the outward confirmation (through word or sign) of the State's participation. It may be deemed a kind of contract by which one party, the married pair, acknowledges the civil Institution, and the latter pledges its power to the domestic Institution. Even a marriage license recognizes the authority of the State.

Such is, in brief, the external or secular Confirmation of Marriage. Its purpose is to make valid the inner union by institutional sanctions, and to receive the new Family into the institutional world. Each side is to be impressed with the fact that it has both duties and rights.

Still there can be Marriage without this external Confirmation. The two lovers can form a lasting union without the consent of their Families, and without the acknowledgment of the State. That is, the inner principle can, if necessary, dispense with the outer sanction. But then it must have a new sanction, the sanc-

tion of its eternal nature by the Eternal. In other words Marriage must have a religious Confirmation, through which it is sanctioned and confirmed by the divine Institution.

3. *The Divine Confirmation.* This has both an external and internal side. There is a return to the subjective element or emotion; each party to the Marriage must feel that a Self beyond the individual Self confirms the union, and in fact participates in the same, imparting to it a divine character; the two persons become one Person through the absolute Person, and in so far as they share in the divine nature. The first consecration of Love, calling for the sacrifice of the Self to a higher Self, is truly a religious manifestation.

But this first consecration, which is subjective, demands an objective consecration, which must be institutional. There is a special Institution which is the divine Will actualized, the eternal Will which wills the Eternal. The Church, therefore, is invoked in Christian countries to put its seal of divine Confirmation upon Marriage through its ceremonies. Thus the married pair recognize the eternal principle in their union and vow to it their allegiance as to their Creator.

(1) The divine Confirmation has its starting-point in Love, through which the individual first experiences a sense of consecration to a higher

power which is Love, Love universal. It is through Love, as distinct from passion or caprice, that the individual begins to feel the presence of the absolute Person, who is thus the third Person in whom and by whom the two married Persons are united. How can two souls be made one? Only through the one universal Soul creative of all, and giving a new birth through Love. For Love regenerates the hard individuality and compels it to live in and through another.

Thus in Marriage the man and woman are brought into participation with the eternal Person, which is the underlying sanction of their union. This absolute Will which is God, safeguards all Will willing Free Will and makes it of its own Self, which is eternal. For God is not Free Will willing Free Will capriciously and temporarily, but eternally; the eternal Will must will the Eternal forevermore. Such is the God within, and his primal divine Confirmation of Marriage in the human heart.

(2) Marriage should also have the Confirmation of the God without as well as of the God within, that is, of the Divine Person actualized in his Institution. Thus it comes that most peoples have the marriage ceremony performed by a man of priestly character whose function is to mediate the two sides, human and divine, and to bring the married pair into a participation with

God. Through the religious ceremony that which was implicit is made explicit, that which was subjective is made objective and institutional. The Catholic Church regards Marriage as a sacrament, a sacred vow to the eternal Person, which vow is thereby eternal and from which there is no release as long as life endures.

(3) The inner life of the married pair is thus an everlasting union in and with God, the everlasting Person, through Love. The inner and the outer divine Confirmation exists together, one through the other; on the day of the Marriage man enters a new institutional existence, having founded a new Family and received the divine Confirmation of his intention. And even though there be no religious ceremony, the religious or eternal element must be in the hearts of the parties, and they must perform internally the act of consecration to the Institution.

Thus Marriage has completed itself, having had its three Confirmations, which we have named the inner (or emotional), the external (or secular), and the divine (or religious). It is now an Institution set forth into the world and confirmed by Institutions. Starting with subjective Love in the human Person, it has risen to a participation in the objective or universal Love of the absolute Person. Such is the first stage of the Family, the process of its formation, which has rounded itself to comple-

tion when the sacred rite has been performed, ending in the vow of eternal fealty to the domestic Institution in the presence of the Eternal.

Forth the married pair go into the external world, in which, however, they have their own inner united life, which is that of the Family. Stepping outside of the Church, the new Family enters its own environment, its own House, which is to become its Home. This is the material and spiritual structure which the Family builds about itself as its abiding-place and sanctuary, both for its own self-expression and for protection.

II. THE HOME. The pair, having formed a new Family through Marriage, separate themselves from their previous Families respectively, and establish their own household, in which they are no longer children but husband and wife. Such is the one separation; on the other hand they are separated from the outside world by their Home whose walls keep them to themselves in their united life.

A great advance in freedom — the ultimate end of all Institutions — is such a step. The couple, now have their own Family, they are in possession of their own domestic environment, which was not the case under the parental roof. Moreover, they, as truly institutional persons, reproduce their own Free Will in another newborn Will, and thereby attain the supreme end of the Family. Undoubtedly all this brings



with it the subordination of the individual to the Institution; in that sense he has less freedom after marriage than before. Freedom of caprice is one thing, freedom through Law and Institutions is another; indeed these two sorts of freedom are almost, though not quite, mutually exclusive.

In the new Family the married pair are reconstructing their own existence, they are re-creating what created them, they are making their pre-supposition. As children they were more or less the passive products of the Family, but now they are its active producers; that is, the Family was given to them from the outside, but now they return and reproduce what was given. From the Determined they pass to the Self-determined, in the domestic sphere.

The Home also has its inclosure shutting out the world, though it be in the world. Inside the Home we behold the original matriarchate or the woman as ruler. She is by nature the Home-maker; the man returns to his Home, after the conflicts of the day, as to the realm of peace.

The Home (*Domus*) has as its supreme characteristic *domestication*. It makes everything and everybody within its reach domestic — man, woman, animals, even the soil. The process of the Home will show this power of domestication, which will next be considered in its different phases.

1. *The woman domesticated.* The immediate process of the Home is hers, is her own inner life; she is the possibility of all domestication. Her soul, her very touch has this domestic power. The necessaries of life pass through her hand; food, raiment, shelter she must domesticate, otherwise they are wanting in a certain element of nutrition; at the truly domestic table something more than the physical body is fed. Of course people can eat at a restaurant and live, often they have to do so; but, however excellent the dishes, they soon grow wearisome. Even in the act of eating his dinner man lives not by bread alone. There should be an institutional nourishment along with that of the body.

The woman as Home-maker is, then, to make domestic the very necessaries of life; but she is also domesticated by them in turn. The Home is implicitly in her spirit, still it is to be brought out by training and practice. The woman who has a Home and keeps it is never going to get rid of this domestic process. The garment passes through her hands, she is the purveyor of food, and she has if not to make at least to transform the shelter of the Family. Still there are various gradations of this process of domestication, which may be classified in a brief survey.

(1) In the early stages of social development the wife does the whole work of providing and caring for the Family, or nearly so. She per-

forms outdoor labor, she has to wrest from Nature, by digging roots, by gathering wild berries, or by cultivating the fields, the things needful for life, while the man is the warrior or hunter or perchance councillor. The Indian squaw chops the wood, and insists upon it as her right; she has been seen to take the axe reproachfully from the hands of her boy who wished by work to imitate the white man, and to remand him to his place as a good Indian. Women still toil in the fields among civilized peoples, but it is felt that she belongs in the house, which she is to transform more and more into the Home by her presence and by her inner life. Advancing civilization goes hand in hand with advancing domestication, and the latter may well be deemed, partially at least, the cause of the former.

Woman's domestic labor now divides; at first she both provides from the outside the necessaries of the Family and transforms them in the Home. Time, however, releases her from the former and confines her to the latter task.

(2) The wife, accordingly, devotes herself more exclusively to Home-making; she transforms what the husband procures from the outside and brings to her; she cooks the food, produces the clothing by spinning, weaving and sewing, and she domesticates the rude bare house, making it over into a Home. She first

produced in her indoor life what are still known as domestic fabrics, and in the Home the first foundation was laid for domestic industry, which sprang from woman's love of her Home. This love led her to improve it through many little appliances, to beautify it, to make it reflect her own indwelling spirit.

But the task became at last too great for her, taking all her time and energy, as she had to work by hand (manufacture, hand-work). When she was turning into a machine, the man came to her aid and his own with an actual machine (sewing-machine, spinning-machine, etc.). Domestic manufacture now means, in spite of etymology, not hand-made at home, but rather machine-made at the factory. No small part of the present industrial world grew out of the Home.

But time (or the man) has again brought relief to the woman by means of machinery. Where-with she in her Home enters a new stage.

(3) The woman not only *transforms*, but she *transfigures* her environment—house, food, raiment, shelter, and all domestic appliances—with her spirit. She no longer works so much with her own hands inside her domestic temple, yet she puts her soul into all. She no longer cooks or sews much, though she knows how; still her look, her touch is upon everything. In a high degree she has become a spirit, indwelling and directing the Home. To be sure some relief

from the enslaving tasks of the hand is necessary for this stage; there must also be time for mental culture and for travel; such a woman ought to see the Homes of the world.

At this point the Home becomes artistic, reflecting purely and transparently the spirit of an Institution, here the family, with its personal embodiment at the center. The dwelling-place of the Family, the House is now to rise into being a work of Art, and reveal the soul inside by the architectural forms outside. The flowering of Domestic Architecture seems to belong to the Renaissance, and not to antiquity or to the medieval period.

When the woman can not only transform but transfigure her Home, it may be said of her that she is completely domesticated. Through a long and severe training she has risen from her double task, outdoors and indoors, in which her domestic spirit was certainly present and active, but weighed down and smothered under her physical burdens, to being the spirit incarnate and creative of the Home. No doubt this last stage has not yet been attained by the great majority of Homes; still it has been attained by some, and is to be made attainable for all, at least for all that persistently strive for its attainment. Let it be said here that wealth does not give it though helpful, that poverty does not hinder it though an impediment.

Close to the woman, as she goes through this process of the Home, we have seen the man hovering around, as it were, and then helping. At first he watched over her somewhat in the distance, as defender of the community; then he drew near and relieved her of her outdoor burden, which he took upon himself; finally he gave her a prodigious lift in her indoor task, relieving her of her grinding mechanical routine chiefly by a machine. Along with her he too is being domesticated — at which process we may next take a glance.

2. *The man domesticated.* He is properly the provider of the Home, as it is at present constituted. He goes outside of it and there has his struggle for its existence; the enemy of the nation or the forces of nature he must grapple with, and not let them destroy his Home. In protecting the Family he is protecting the creative source of his people, yea of his race. He must will not only the existence but the reproduction of Free-Will, and offer himself, if necessary, as a sacrifice for such an end.

Hence the man separates from Home, from wife and child, in order that he may secure that Home and wife and child. He, too, is plainly in training, is in the process of domestication.

(1) Man's first domestication is his Marriage, his submission to the Institution, which is of

course his own act. But then the wife domesticates him too, transforms in the Home quite everything which he needs. In one way or other he receives from her hands his food, his clothing, his shelter. He may have furnished her the original crude material, and usually does furnish it, but she domesticates it and through it domesticates him. So the Home is her field of influence, the place where her spirit rules, the true *gynocracy*; the man in the Home drinks of her Institution, and participates in her soul, going back daily to the fountain-head of the institutional world, the Home.

(2) But in the Home the man is not to stay, his call is to go forth into the world, with which he has the conflict of existence for himself and for his own. Hence he is the head of the Family in all external relations, he is its representative before the law which is to determine these external relations. On this side the spirit of the man rules, and there is here an *androcracy* which has its field more outside the Home than inside. In the lower sphere man has to furnish the strength, in the higher the justice of the world. In primitive society he procures, as hunter or herdsman, the raw material of life; later he furnishes from the outside what the woman transforms inside the Home; finally when her domestic burden is too great, he relieves her by the machine.

This last factor is to be carefully noticed. It is the man who comes to woman's aid with his inventive power even in her own sphere. Though the woman is the one who sews, she did not invent the sewing-machine; though she is the original spinner, she did not invent the spinning-machine, nor did she, the chief weaver, invent the power-loom. These inventions have been the greatest liberators of woman, enabling her to rise in her own Home from doing the work of the hand to doing work of the spirit, from being a mere domestic artisan to being a domestic artist. And these inventions have been the work of men, the end of which has been the higher freedom of woman in her own Home. The genius of the woman, as revealed in the past, is not inventive; hers is a different sphere.

(3) The man returns to his Home after his struggles with the world, thus obtaining the benefit and the blessing of what he has done outside. A nobler domestication awaits him there, for he shares in every advance of the Home. He has to be domesticated every day, coming back from the battle of life to the peace of the Family. To be sure he sometimes finds there a new war, greater than that outside, and he may have to flee in the other direction for his peace. But these negative elements in the Family will come up later for consideration; at present we are looking at the positive Family.



Such, then, is in general the process of man's domestication, through which he has to pass in his Home, that he quaff of the primal institutional spirit of his race. He must perform daily this service, this act of self-surrender to the Institution, otherwise he is in danger of becoming barbarized, a selfish, combative unit in competition with other like units in a social Pandemonium.

Thus the man has been tamed from his wild, natural condition, and transmuted into an institutional being by the Home — all of which we have called his domestication. And the woman too we have seen passing through the same process in her way. The natural man and woman (or human nature), have been subdued, transformed, and filled with a new end. Now the fact arises that external Nature likewise is to be domesticated; not only human Nature but also extra-human Nature — animal, plant, even the inorganic elements — must be made domestic, made to participate in this spirit of the Home. It would seem that all Nature, the cosmos itself, is at last to be domesticated, and the Universe to become the Home of Man.

3. *Nature domesticated.* We conceive the house, the abode of the Family, as the center of domestication, from which rays out an influence over surrounding Nature. The Home of the agriculturist we may first consider it, subjecting

the wild world about him to the great end of the Family, which world is thereby domesticated. A new spirit or character enters into the object of Nature, be it animal or plant, and makes it over; this spirit issues from the Home and adds a new title and a new trait to the natural animal or plant, making it domestic along with the man and the woman.

What is the source of this added element? As already stated, the end of the Family is the reproduction of the human individual as an institutional being through the Institution. As the Family transforms man, so it transforms the lower orders of Nature, whose reproduction is not now left to run wild in mere gratification, but is controlled by and filled with the new end, the Institution. Thus all Nature is to be first domesticated, then socialized, and even civilized; it is to be made to share in Family, Society, State. Let us note briefly the stages of Nature domesticated.

(1) Beginning with the animal kingdom we observe that the Home has domesticated two animals as its special guardians, the dog, and in a less degree, the cat. Then it has tamed and improved another class of animals for their food-producing qualities—the cow, sheep, pig, goat. Still another class it has domesticated for work, as the horse. Then, too, a great variety of fowls—turkey, duck, goose, pigeons, chickens. Here

we may place an insect, the honey-bee; also a fish possibly, the gold-fish.

All these specimens of animated nature were once wild, or have been derived from wild ancestors. But man, or rather the Family, has taken them and imparted to them of its domestic spirit. This is the transforming power to which all Nature seems plastic. The Home may be considered Nature's first artist, filling her forms with a new spirit which is institutional. Language has registered this fact in the word *domestic* as applied to an animal. Take the dog which has been variously supposed to be derived from the wolf, fox, jackal, or a species of wild dog; at any rate, how different the domestic breed from the wild! And how many different forms, sizes, characters in the domestic breed! Truly a formable material did the original canine stock furnish to the hands of man, similar to the block of marble in the hands of the sculptor.

How is this done? Chiefly the human Family takes to itself the animal Family, and provides for it against the accidents and strokes of savage Nature, securing to it often food and shelter, and sometimes clothing. The Home does for the animal what it does for itself, and thus gives to the dumb creature a Home, thereby making it domestic. We see, therefore, that domestication is deeply connected with reproduction; the brute, reproducing itself is most formable just

at the period of formation, and the Family transforms it with its own spirit and fills it with its own end.

The animal becomes more fertile by domestication, which looks after this productive power. Darwin says that domestication often cures sterility, and the pivotal fact of his doctrine of Natural Selection is the reproduction of the individual as moulded by nature and man. Nature gives an enormous increase, but destroys enormously through the struggle for existence. Man stops this destruction, through his protection of the reproductive power of animals and his care for the offspring. He builds a Home for his animals, in a degree patterned after and certainly derived from his own Home, and treats them with a domestic affection sprung of his own life. And the influence is retro-active. A neglected horse is apt to mean a careless husband or father; the animal Home reflects the master's own Home; look into a farmer's pig-pen, and in most cases you can tell something about his house inside. Among the peasantry of Europe the stable and the cow-stall are often under the same roof with the human household; both Families, that of the animal and of man, occupy different apartments of the same Home.

Under the rule of the Home there is a recognized law observed by the animal members; the cat and the dog, hereditary foes to each other,

learn to keep the peace of the household and endure each other's presence, indeed they have been known to help each other. Both control their predatory instinct against other domesticated animals, though they let it loose against wild prey. Thus the lower animal is brought to recognize the Law and the Institution through the Home, and it too in its way becomes institutional.

(2.) In like manner quite a fragment of the vegetable world has been domesticated. The grains (wheat, rye, barley, maize, etc.) are derived from wild ancestors; so, too, the fruits and the culinary plants (peas, potatoes, cabbages, etc.).

Here again it is the Family usually which furnishes food, shelter and protection in various ways, guarding the plant against its enemies, and enabling it to reproduce itself prodigiously. Thus the human Home secures its sustenance by looking after the vegetable Home—the garden, the farm. Man lives from the reproductive power of the animal and plant; his own body is reproduced daily from food, which is itself a product of reproductive energy. Seeds, grains, nuts are the concentrated germs of vegetable reproduction, through which man reproduces daily his body.

The Home takes delight in flowers and cultivates them for their own sake, as they reflect it and suggest it in its inner essence. The flower is the outer manifestation of the plant's own reproduction, and, having no immediately useful

end, becomes a symbol of the Family, beautiful in the Home because suggesting the ideal purpose of the Home, which is also a flowering of the individual. In fact the vegetable process has a very close analogy to the domestic process, each passing through its own cycle.

(3) Inorganic Nature also is domesticated, is transformed and filled with the end of the Home. When the agriculturist puts his plow into the soil, he is subjecting it to a new purpose; he is seeking to make it productive, to make it the Home of his plants and animals, of himself and his Family. The earth's generative power he must seize, employ, transform; he cannot permit it to run wild in native luxuriance. Thus the Family trains the reproductive capacity of the soil for its own reproduction. Note that the soil too needs food in the shape of manure and fertilizers, for it can be exhausted, and it may also require protection against flood and storm. Then it may need special assistance to change it from a sterile into a fertile condition, which happens in the case of irrigation.

Cultivation is primarily domestication. Wild man and wild nature obtain their early culture through the Home, which, though rude, is civilizing. The Family is the primordial fountain of the institutional spirit, which, as we have just seen, reaches down from man to the animal and plant, to the very earth upon which he treads.

Not without significance has "a free soil" been conjoined with the ideal end of freedom, and given its name to a political creed. The ground upon which the human being builds his Home is to be made institutional, and thus endowed with his supreme end, freedom.

Man educates his animals and his grains as he does his own child, and they are capable of receiving his education and in a way acquiring his spirit. The plasticity of all Nature to domestic training is the prime fact of civilization. The farmer can protect his crop often against the coming storm or frost; it is getting to be one duty of the State to forecast for him the weather. The meteorological process of the earth, or a large part of it, is becoming the daily knowledge of every person who may be affected by that process, and who may, therefore, protect not only his domestic but his domesticated circle from the fury of the elements.

The Home has now completed its sweep of power, having domesticated both human and extra-human Nature. It has made the world over into the dwelling-place of the Institution, creating an outer visible manifestation of the Family. Next we shall look inside the Home, and behold its ideal end realizing itself, actually embodied in a fresh incarnation of the Person.

III. THE CHILD. The two become three, and thus we behold the domestic trinity, which is, how-

ever, a deeper unity. For this unity is no longer merely subjective and emotional, but is an existent visible object, which mediates the married twain in reality. The love of husband and wife becomes incorporate in the Child, self-creative and creative of the Self. That which was implicit in Marriage, has now become explicit; the inner meaning of love is uttered and published to the world in this third person of the domestic trinity.

Already we have found that the Family, being actualized Free-Will, has as its end the reproduction of the human individual as a new Free-Will in the world. The individual first appears as the Child, who is to be born in the Family, and is to receive from it his early training. In the Child the parents return, as it were, into themselves, into their very beginning, and reenact their own cycle of existence. They reproduce themselves as sexual and as unmarried through marriage, and they are to carry their child forward as they were carried forward by the Family, till perchance he gets married, as they did. They are to give him not merely their physical but also their spiritual heritage. The great end of the Family is that an institutional Person be reproduced, not simply a human animal. The Child at birth is but the possibility of Institutions, which are to be realized in him through education.



Thus we are to see that the essence of the Child is that he is a return, yet a new and original return of the parents into themselves, into their origin, reproducing not only their bodies but also their souls laden with their moral, intellectual, and institutional endowments. A still deeper return lies in every born Child: he is the return to the beginning of his race, which he has to reproduce ideally in his own development. Very well-known has become the educational maxim: the Child unfolds as the Race has unfolded. Re-creating the life of humanity in himself, is he truly generic and belongs to the genus *homo*, being ordered in said genus by an inner classification, not by an outer one.

1. *The Child in the Home.* The Child is born in the Home, which has the most immediate relation to the new-comer. He too must be domesticated first of all; with his earliest nurture begins his domestic training. Into the Home he comes an animal, naked of body and naked of Institutions, which double nakedness the Home must first clothe.

(1) The parents have also their discipline in the Home with the infant. For them the birth of the child is likewise a new birth, a kind of palingenesis. Love is re-created in a fresh form; in Marriage the love of husband and wife was simply internal, but now it exists in an external object, which is, so to speak, both of

them. The mother loves her child, and in him loves her husband with a new love. The father too feels the like regeneration of his love for the mother of his child. They are married again by the strongest confirmation, really the soul and the purpose of the three confirmations before mentioned. Hence comes a new consecration of both to their common love, which has brought with it a new tremendous responsibility.

(2) The child in its turn unfolds into love for the parents, thus the three are united in a deep emotional bond. As the mother stands in a more direct relation to her offspring than the father, there springs up a peculiar bond between the mother and her child, which gives her the first place in his training. She instinctively seeks to reproduce in him her own devotion and self-sacrifice; her mother-love longs to see itself returned through the child. Still mother-love just by its excess, by too much devotion to the child, can produce in him quite the opposite of itself, namely selfishness.

The father is not to be omitted in the training of his child in the Home. In the man is usually found a more unbending element, that of justice, which the child has also to learn; thus he finds out what he has really done, being made to taste the nature of his deed. Obedience to law as voiced by the parents belongs to the training of the child especially in the Home. This obedi-

ence has to pass through some form of fear ere it unites fully with love. The child has to learn to obey through love, he does not possess such obedience at first hand or by nature.

(3) So we see that Nature even in the innocent babe is to be domesticated, or at least is to start on its career of domestication. Already we have observed that this is true both of human and extra-human Nature, and the child being human cannot well be an exception. The Home is to make him domestic, to fill him with the Institution in its first form, that of the Family. So the Home is to impart the primal institutional spirit to the child, which is the love of mother and father, and through this love he is to obey their commandments. Obedience through love is the first subjection of the child's will to the Institution, its first training to an ethical life. The parent's love of his child must have in it law, and the child's love of his parent must have in it obedience.

Still the parent should never forget that the very purpose of his law is the training of child into freedom. Through parental authority the child is to learn what freedom is, that is, institutional freedom. Arbitrary commands, passion, or caprice on the part of the parent are destructive of true education. At this point the parent needs help, his child is taken from him during a part of the day or year and put under a new control.

2. *The Child at school.* Such is the separation which now appears in the life of the child: he is removed from the Home and sent to school, whose ultimate object is to train him to an institutional life as a whole.

The Family begins soon to show its inadequacy for the complete training of the child, who is to be inducted into the institutional world freed from its personal factor in the Home. Obviously the Family can for the most part simply reproduce itself in the child, can make him domestic. But he must soon take wings and fly beyond this limitation; his destiny is to become a social being also, and to absorb into himself the entire world of Institutions. Now there is an Institution which has just this purpose, namely the school or the Educative Institution. (See the third part of the present work where the Educative Institution is specially treated.)

So the child has to be sent out of its home to school, in which the parent with his love is not the ruler, but a new kind of authority. He begins to make the transition from the law of love to the love of the law. Obedience is not so much to the person as to the Institution. The school is certainly not to banish love but to fill it with a new content, which does not displace, but complements domestic love. The day on which the child starts to school, and separates him from the parental Home to enter the educative Home,

is an event like that of birth, he finds himself in a new world.

Of course this separation should not be too sudden or rapid. The following stages of the Educative Institution we may here notice, though the whole subject is to be considered later. (1) The kindergarden, which is the happy transition, belongs to the school, but fuses it with the spirit of the Home, and has the child only a few hours each day. (2) The school proper takes a greater amount of time and effort from the Home. (3) The child, becoming mature, usually leaves the Home entirely for a while, and goes to a distant school, college, or university, each of which has its own social life.

Thus the Family in educating the child must call in the aid of the Educative Institution, for the mother with her love and the father with his law are not equal to the task. Such is the case even when the parents strive to do their duty; still more is the school with its institutional training necessary when the parent is neglectful or tyrannical, and the child is in consequence disobedient, and receives no domestication from the Home.

The child in early life passes daily from Home to school and back again, thus sharing in both. The school keeps increasing its demands till at last he separates entirely from Home and enters a school-world. This separation from Home

may of course be brought about in other ways besides that of the school.

The child sooner or later, returns home, but he is no longer a child. He has vindicated his independence, and in that light we may look at him for a moment.

3. *The free individual.* From birth the child has been in training for freedom. The mother even in her play with the child is really making him independent of herself. She calls forth his endurance, his manliness, his selfhood, in fine every trait which develops a self-reliant character. In the school begins the actual separation from Home, which, at first for brief periods, at last becomes complete. Having received the training of the Home and the School, he is a free man, and is henceforth to be trained by himself in his grapple with the world.

Though he return to the paternal roof, he is no longer the child at home, nor the child at school. He has graduated from both. He is a free individual, yet with the new task of freedom. Through education, domestic and scholastic, he possesses ideally in his soul the whole institutional world; his new task is to make actual by his deed and to re-create in his life this world of Institutions. He is not to live simply an individual existence, but an universal one; though he be a free individual, he is not actually free, his freedom is actualized only in and through Institutions.

The first of these Institutions is the Family, which our free individual is now to enter. But this brings us back to Marriage, which, we may remember, was the starting-point of the Family. Thus we have gone through the domestic cycle whose end has returned to its beginning. Marriage, having made the Home, having begotten the child and educated him into independent manhood, has reproduced itself. Such is the completed process of the Positive Family.

But with this completion of the Positive Family an element of dissolution enters the Home. The free individual, offspring of the Family, separates from it and thus begins to break it up. There are all grades of permanence in the Family, from the American to the Chinese. In the latter, even the dead parent has his place.

Still further, the formation of the new Family has a tendency to dissolve the old, which indeed has lost its substantial purpose when it can no longer rear the child. The free individual must actualize his freedom, and so must quit father and mother, and establish his own Family. The acorns fall and leave the parent tree stripped, each is itself to become a tree.

But the free individual may use his freedom in a wholly different way, he may refuse to establish his own Home, he may hold himself aloof from the Family, he may prefer to keep to himself his free individuality. Thus he becomes

negative to the Family in asserting his personal freedom, which he declines to make institutional by a domestic life.

Thus at every stage of the process of the Family there is a destroying element which intertwines itself in the movement, and which lies in the very nature of Free-Will. The result is a fall or descent of the Family in the midst of its very bloom, a tendency to undo itself and go backward to the primal starting-point. No treatise on the Family is complete without taking into account this negative element permeating its organism at every joint. Moreover we must see the place of such a phenomenon in the movement of the whole Institution.

## II. THE NEGATIVE FAMILY.

Here we must reckon with all the adverse forces which tend to dissolve the Family. They will reveal its negative process, which is indeed inherent, as long as man possesses that marvelous gift of his called Free-Will, and realizes it *freely*. The recompense comes to him whether or not he will actualize that Free-Will in an Institution. If he does not, then the counter-current of negation sets in, and he need not stop till he reduces himself back to the merely natural individual, whom Rousseau and others deem the truly free man.



Still the Family may be destroyed from the outside also, in the simple process of Nature. Death keeps his reckoning with the Family, often in the most remorseless fashion, sweeping down not only the aged but also the young. Particularly the child is his prey, the very object and hope of the Family; the old tiger loves to lap the blood of infants, of whom nearly one-half die before the age of five years. Such is the element of external Fate which perpetually overhangs the Family.

Thus we are compelled to look at the Family in a twofold aspect, positive and negative, constructive and destructive; alongside the Institution as it exists in its highest form is a descending current which is carrying it back to a state of nature, to its physical beginning. Within the monogamous Family we behold an incessant reversion to former stages.

These various negative forces working upon and in the Family we shall seek to order in a rapid survey for the purpose of bringing out the psychical connection of the phenomena. The Family may be broken up from the outside, it may be dissolved from the inside, it may be perverted into an Institution just the opposite of itself and utterly destructive of its end. These are the three stages of what we call the negative Family in a general way, embracing all the destructive agencies which are connected with the Institution.

I. THE FAMILY ASSAILED FROM WITHOUT. As the members of this Institution are human and mortal, they are subject to the external forces of Nature. But just through its own natural growth the Family is separated and broken in twain. Still further the individual may keep aloof from the Family. In all these cases the inner element of domestic life, love, is not involved, at least not directly.

(1) Death is the most immediate of these assailing forces. It may come at any time to any member; still in the due course of nature the aged are taken and their Family comes to its end. But also in the due course of Nature the new Family appears.

(2) This produces a division into two Families, the old and the new, the latter growing out of the former and taking away its young life. The domestic cycle blooms, throws off its fruit, and decays in a generation or two, like the vegetable cycle which may last only a year. So this very process of life bears in it the end of life, and the Family separates into two Families, the ascending and the declining.

(3) But the main negative force undoing the Family lies in the free individual, who, when ready, refuses to enter the domestic relation. To be sure he has his grounds, sometimes sufficient, but mostly insufficient, for not assuming his share in the institutional task of humanity.

Negative is his conduct, whatever be the reason; if all were to do as he does, there would be no Family, and soon no human race. Thus he gives a blow to the Institution from the outside like that of Fate, though his separation from the Family be simply passive. Such a person, by refusing to enter the grand institutional movement of mankind at its starting-point, denies his own principle of existence at its fountain-head.

Celibacy may, of course, be founded on good reasons. Conscientious people have been known to renounce love and even to break off a matrimonial engagement on account of an hereditary taint in the blood, such as insanity, consumption, serofula. They renounce the Family for the sake of the Family. Then the ups and downs of life may turn marriage down, even after one or several fair trials. But the great rule is that every individual get married, and thereby become a truly free being, that is institutionally free. Unmarried he can be capriciously free, but such freedom is logically at the expense of his race.

Religion has sometimes felt itself compelled in certain cases to enforce celibacy upon its votaries — a phenomenon which has appeared both in the Orient and the Occident. When the initiate of a given class (priest or monk) enters the divine Family, he must renounce the secular Family, between which is supposed to lie an inherent contradiction. Whatever be the ground

justifying monasticism in some ages and countries, it will hardly hold for the modern world except in exceptions.

Such are, in general, the negative forces assailing and destroying the Family from the outside — forces coming from Nature (in death), from the Family itself (in its growth), and from the Individual (through his abstention), who can destroy like Nature. Thus the latter has shown a negative power which is next to be seen at work inside the Family, after the marriage-tie has been formed.

II. THE FAMILY ASSAILED FROM WITHIN. — Already we have noticed the unity of the sexual pair in Marriage, which unity properly springs from and rests upon an emotion, love. This inner bond of the Family can be assailed by the married individual, as he (or she) is still a self-determined being; in the Institution he can still refuse subordination to the Institution, and break the bond in twain.

Thus Marriage dissolves into its original elements, the two sexual individuals, and the attraction of love is succeeded by the repulsion of hate. The union which was sealed by the three Confirmations is torn asunder by the destroying agencies being waked up, which were put to sleep by love and its institutional consecration.

At this point we enter the chief problem of the Family, especially of the monogamous Family.

How shall the bond between the sexual twain be kept pure and permanent, and thereby fulfill the end of the Family? Being twofold primordially, it has always the tendency to reversion, which can be provoked into activity in various ways. Whereof we may note the following: —

(1) A new emotion may be roused by a new person, who appears in the intercourse of human life. Thus Love may assail Love, the institutional feeling may be attacked and undermined by the very inclination whence it arose. This is the grand hazard in all Marriage. Other individuals are always crossing the path of both husband and wife, and exciting new emotions and new affinities, which may become virulent and disintegrating to the union already formed.

Such is the everlasting exposure of the domestic Institution to the chances of the world on the one hand and to the changeful subjective nature of the individual on the other. A return to that inner starting-point of the Family is always possible, a reversion, as it were, to its birth. To be sure duty, honor, religion ought to suppress the rising demon, but may not be able. Incompatibility between the husband and wife has usually its source in this third person who has secretly taken the place of one or the other.

Literature, especially in the novel, has held up to man the slow dissolution of the married pair through the rising emotion which overturns the

Family. In this respect the novel of all novels is Goethe's *Elective Affinities* (*Wahlverwandtschaften*).

(2) Divorce is the complete outer manifestation of this inner or possible separation. The law is invoked to undo that which it has done; the State as the Institution which is to make Free-Will valid, is called upon to release each party from the common promise, when the inner foundation of Marriage is destroyed. The union may become completely destructive of Free-Will in the individual, then the law has to step in or fail of its purpose.

Divorce is, on the whole, a phase of the great movement of freedom, though it certainly can be abused. Doubtless the woman receives the greater benefit from divorce which has been made easier chiefly in order to protect the personality of the wife, when she is the victim of cruelty, drunkenness, or neglect on the part of the husband. The Family is to actualize Free-Will, not to destroy it; when the latter happens, the State has to perform its duty, which is to preserve Free-Will. The law of divorce should not be too lax, nor too strict. Agitation to limit divorce is well enough, but this is not to be absolutely prohibited. Divorce within proper bounds has a tendency to prevent worse things than itself; often the illicit union will be formed if the legal one is impossible, as such a

law is felt to violate the very purpose of all law.

The individual having failed in his first attempt to found a Family through no fault of his own, is not to be shut off forever from domestic life for that reason. Particularly the woman is to be protected in her divine right of being a homemaker. A divorce law absolutely prohibitive may work the deepest injustice and cause greater evils than it can possibly remedy. It is really anti-institutional, for it can prevent man and woman from entering the domestic Institution for all time, because of one mistake made often under extenuating circumstances. But even if transgression and not mistake be the cause, certainly the transgressor can repent and be restored to his first right. The Catholic Church makes marriage one of the Sacraments and regards the matrimonial tie as indissoluble except by papal dispensation; some Protestants hold essentially the same view. Marriage is to have a divine Confirmation, as we have seen; but when the Family turns to an Inferno, Heaven must permit or rather cannot prevent its self-dissolution.

(3) Free Love (so-called) is the abolition of all institutional confirmation of Marriage, abrogating Family, State and Church, and carrying the sexual pair back to their primal emotional basis. Such a domestic condition is declared by its promoters to be a great advance toward free-

dom, but really it is a relapse to the first caprice of passion. Free Love is not merely an emotion, but a doctrine which is defended with argument. It affirms that Marriage, at least monogamous Marriage, is a failure; thus it becomes negative to the institutional Family while seeking to realize anew the Family. Free Love takes many forms, low and high; in its highest form it endeavors to secure the permanent element of the Family by a new society or community removed from the ordinary institutional life of man. Not only a new domestic and social order but a new religion oftens springs out of this tendency, or possibly it springs from the religion.

Mormonism is a curious reversion to the polygamous Orient in the heart of the monogamous Occident, accompanied with a new political and ecclesiastical organization, which was intended to reform the evils of Western civilization, as its claim runs.

Communism has as its primary purpose the abolition of private property, but often it includes also the abolition of the Family as an independent Institution, whose place is taken by the community. The great end of the Family, which is the reproduction of the institutional person, is transformed into the reproduction of the communal person, the child being born into and reared by the community for its end. The most famous and most successful as well as most re-



volutionary of all these communistic schemes is (or was) that known as the Oneida community, whose history, however, is properly a phase of the Religious Institution.

Thus we see generated in the Family negative forces which turn upon it and seek to destroy it. Such a negative force may spring out of its emotional fountain, love, and carry this inner separation forward into an outer legal dissolution of marriage. But the institutional side of the Family also may give rise to a destructive movement which aims to abolish the Family as such and to assign its function to another Institution. The monogamous Family is declared unable to fulfill the purpose of its existence, and therefore must be supplanted by some arrangement which can. But the unquestionable tendency of communism in the matter of wives is the following.

III. THE PERVERTED FAMILY. The negative sweep of the Family ends not only in destruction but in organized destruction. A domestic Institution rises whose end is to destroy the end of the domestic Institution. The individual, especially the woman, becoming an outcast from the Family, is still going to have her Family, in accord with her domestic nature, yet directly hostile to the real Family. She still makes a Home, but it is a negative Home in opposition to the true Home. Here we behold that phenomenon commonly known as "the social evil," which

is an organized Family with its Home whose purpose is to undo the Family and Home.

Thus the positive and negative elements of the Family have developed into their fiercest dualism, standing front to front in conflict. Both are present everywhere, though in urban life the Perverted Family is most pronounced and undisguised, seeking to annihilate the institutional Family by destroying its end, which is the reproduction of the institutional individual. This Perverted Family is the culmination of what we have above called the Negative Family, which now has its own active domestic organization, and is the complete antithesis of the Positive Family.

Here, too, we can discern several stages which take the form of lapses or reversions to previous less advanced conditions of the Family. In all societies we note a downward development of the Institution by the side of and in a struggle with its upward development.

(1) We may place as first the monogamous lapse, in which the sexual pair come together in a perverted union, yet remain faithful to each other, one to one in the bond of love it may be, yet outside the Family. This is usually the most subtle, most hidden, and probably the most pernicious of the forms of the Negative Family. Two households, as it were, the one institutional, the other anti-institutional; each

also monogamous, taken by itself; thus is the human being torn in twain, his heart on one side, while law, duty, and conscience are on the other. The case may happen and only too often does happen that the emotional and institutional elements which ought to be united into one Family are separated into two Families, the open and the concealed, the acknowledged and the unacknowledged, the confirmed and the unconfirmed, one of Law and the other of Love.

(2) A further descent is the polygamous lapse, which has indeed already shown itself secretly in the previous stage, when, for instance, the man or the woman has two households, or belongs to both a positive and a negative Family. But the complete manifestation of this lapse is seen when the sexual individual renounces all fidelity to the one person, when the woman drops down to polyandry (many men), and the man to polygyny (many women). Thus the monogamous relation is completely negated.

We shall see in the next section (on the Evolution of the Family) that all these forms of polygamy appear in the historic development of the domestic Institution. In such case they belong to the positive progress of man toward the higher Family; but when man drops back into them from the higher Family, they are turned into the movement of his descent, and what was once a stage of advance becomes a

stage of retrogression. The reversion is the perversion; to go back to polygamy from monogamy is decadence; to rise to polygamy out of mere promiscuity of the sexes is progress.

(3) Herein we reach the last stage of descent—sexual promiscuity. Such is the name which investigators have given to the primal condition of the human animal, that potential state in which the first germs of the institutional Family begin to appear. But as a reversion of the monogamous Family it exhibits man in the most degraded social condition, he has sunk not to animality but to bestiality. For animality may mean innocence or even ascent, but bestiality means the fall, truly the fall of Satan from the top to the very bottom. The dog as dog is an animal simply, and we let his instinctive promiscuity pass, but man as dog is a beast, whom Dante transforms into a monster part human and part animal, and puts down into the Inferno.

In most communities, certainly in every large city, is a patch given up to sexual promiscuity, which seems able to assert itself along with every advancing step of civilization. So powerful, so inborn in human nature is this tendency to reversion, that sometimes one thinks that it increases with the increased tension which comes with all higher evolution. What to do with this plague-spot is a chief if not the chief social problem of modern reformers. Sometimes it has been sup-

pressed with violence, but then the poison has been found working outwards into healthy portions of the social organism, which seems always to have corners just ready to be infected and on the point of reverting to some transcended stage. In such a tension do we live and hover between the upwards and the downwards of the Family.

Thus we have traced the negative forces at work in the Family and have seen it revert in a descending line to its original sexual units, man and woman. The domestic Institution is continually being resolved back into its very beginning, which process is going on in the midst of our highest civilization. Are we then doomed to revert to the animal, and in such a cataclysm are our spiritual acquisitions destined to be lost? There can be little doubt that certain races have so reverted, leaving a few faint signs of their civilization behind in the works of their ancestors.

But with all the foregoing facts granted, there is still an answer to this pessimistic view of human development. Along with the before-mentioned negative forces of the Family is found another energy which is continually overcoming them, turning negation upon itself and thus transforming it into the positive principle. The Negative Family must at last serve up its own inner character to itself, must destroy its own destructive element. This is essentially the movement of Evolution, which has been so fully

taken up by the soul of the present age as one of its prime spiritual needs. Accordingly we shall now look at the Evolution of the Family, in which we shall see every previous negative stage of the domestic Institution overcome from within, self-undone and transcended, whereby is revealed the genetic history of the Institution.

### III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY.

We have just witnessed the process of descent and disintegration which is at work continually in the Family, as it exists in the most civilized societies. This destructive side is now to meet with a constructive, ever-progressing principle, which is the grand modern talisman of thought and science—Evolution. As we had a fall, so now we are to have an ascent, an overcoming of the negative energy just unfolded. If man can drop back to the animal out of his institutional heritage, he can rise from the animal, has indeed thus risen. Evolution is the real answer of the age to denial, to skepticism, to pessimism, being a natural history of the human race transcending its own negative forces.

Still Evolution is not the complete process of the Institution, but a phase or stage of it, as we have already set forth. It cannot be left out of the complete treatment of the Family, yet is not

by itself the complete treatment, as some one-sided evolutionists seem to think. Indeed, it is meaningless as a method or as a thought without the corresponding descent or disintegration; moreover it takes for granted a positive, more or less advanced condition of the Family toward which it has moved and is still moving.

Evolution, therefore, we place as the third stage or phase in the total process of the Family. We shall find in its movement the idea of man's return to his true estate; we, contemplating the doctrine of Evolution, behold the restoration of man and of the social order out of their threatened dissolution. It is not simply a scientific fact, but it has a power of spiritual healing; through it we see a continual rise and return to the positive condition of the Family; we see not merely the generation of the Institution, but also its regeneration, which is, first of all, to take place in our hearts, and to become a part of ourselves.

Truly a spiritual catharsis has come to our age in the doctrine of Evolution, which may almost lay claim to being a new Gospel. It has passed out of the hands of the scientist, and has entered the spirit of the time as a renewed faith in the destiny of the race, saving many earnest souls from pessimism and despair. It makes for freedom, we hold, carrying Nature herself always up toward the self-determined. Evolution is indeed

variously read by its supporters, some will see in it only the iron necessity of physical law. But it surely points to and in fact presupposes a Will, an Ego at the center of all things. It calls for the complete circle of which it is the segment, and such a circle must ultimately be self-evolved, in fact the totalabsolute Self.

Coming back to the Family we found that its dissolution in the previous stage ended in the natural individual and reduced man to his starting-point. Now while the Family has this backward movement in modern society, this tendency to drop down to its primitive unit, to its beginning, equally certain is it that the Family has shown the counter movement in a much stronger tendency, the rise from the physical individual of nature to the institutional individual of spirit.

This very negative movement of the modern Family involves the positive one, the lapse must have its counterpart in the ascent. Hence the present upward movement is the negation of the negative forces already set forth; the history of the Family is just the overcoming of the destructive might of nature, passion, appetite — is the transcending of the lower more inadequate stages of the Family.

Much attention has been paid in recent years to the Evolution of the Family by a number of patient investigators, and an enormous mass of facts has been collected. Naturally there have



been various attempts to organize this decidedly recalcitrant mass into an ordered Whole, which is to take its due place in the science of Institutions.

In the rise of the Family, we behold three main stages, which have an inner relation of growth, and which we shall epitomize before proceeding to a more detailed exposition in the following outline: —

I. *Natural Monogamy*; this involves the union of one male and one female during the pairing time, during gestation, and during the helpless period of physical infancy.

II. *Polygamy*; the breaking up the immediate Monogamy of Nature, by having a plurality of males or females or both in the unity of the Family.

III. *Institutional Monogamy*; the return to the union of one male and one female, which, however, is no longer the Natural Family merely, but is the Institutional Family, which has passed through and cast off Polygamy.

As the sexual relation is common to man and the lowest animals, and as there are all gradations of it, one may well ask: at what point does the Family start into being? Or when can Marriage be said to exist? It is not easy to draw the line with precision, still some limit has to be seen, even if vaguely seen. As the great end of the Family is the having and rearing of offspring, so

this end must manifest itself in the pair whenever they begin to show themselves parents, though in the most primitive way.

Accordingly the Family involves the union of the opposite sexes, the duration of such union till after the birth of the offspring, and the provision for them till they are able to help themselves. As the offspring of man remains helpless a long time, the Human Family has an inherent tendency to be permanent. Then as the human child requires something far more than mere physical independence, Marriage grows to be the matter of a life-time. The movement of this growth from its natural stage up to its institutional fullness is what we shall now follow.

I. NATURAL MONOGAMY. The immediate starting-point of Nature in the reproduction of the species may be said to be monogamous; it is the relation of one to one and can be nothing else. Still further, Nature seems to choose its own, individual selects individual by an inner impulse or inclination; animals show choice in taking their mates. In man this affinity of individuals becomes more pronounced, and is called love. Out of a mass of individuals of both sexes, each seeks and finds just the one and none other. To this passion of love there rises, under provocation and sometimes almost without provocation, its violent negative counterpart, namely the passion of jealousy.

Man and the lower animals have these three fundamental emotions, or rather passions, of the Family — sexuality, love of the individual as such, and jealousy. The whole movement of Evolution will show these passions transforming themselves out of their physical manifestation and bearing man upwards into an ethical, that is, institutional life.

All three of these passions may be said to be in their very nature monogamous. They affirm decisively that this one is mine, hands off, or a fight. The chief source of the bitterest struggles among animals and among savages is Monogamy, which is always being assailed and always being defended. Nor are such struggles unknown among civilized men.

The result is that the state of Natural Monogamy is not a placid, peaceful condition of domestic happiness, as has been sometimes imagined. On the contrary, there is in it fierce conflict, coupled with deep difference and opposition. The process of natural Evolution, like birth itself, is accompanied with throes of struggle, which is manifest from the great diversity seen in the state of Nature.

The reader must always bear in mind that we are now considering the Monogamy of Nature, which is far enough from being pure and constant; on the contrary, it is very fluctuating and uncertain, being not yet made stable by Law and

Institution, but subjected to the caprice and violence of the physical individual. Still here is the germ which is to develop into the institutional Family — the germ found in Nature herself, who may thus be declared to have a monogamous tendency; truly she has a monogamous ideal in her soul, which she will slowly realize with the ages.

The present is an undeveloped potential stage, with all sorts of exceptions and variations, yet with one advancing main movement. We shall briefly give traces of it in the lower orders of animate existence, not forgetting to mark the fluctuations sideward and even backward which are characteristic of the stage before us.

1. It would appear that the first decisive instances of the Monogamy of Nature occur among the Birds. Below them, the sexual relation of Invertebrates and Vertebrates seems to be wholly inconstant, and even parental care for the young is hardily discernible. Some exceptions have been noted by naturalists; but the general rule appears to be that reproduction of kind begins and ends with the immediate sexual instinct.

But with what seems almost a sudden spring, among the Birds Monogamy appears in a very pronounced form. Parental care of the young is shown by the mother, and also what is rarer, by the father. Both work together in building the nest, in feeding the young, even in hatching out the eggs. Both look after the fledgelings, and

defend them in ease of necessity, till they become able to shift for themselves. Thus the end of the Family is attained.

Such is the first picture of Natural Monogamy, striking and beautiful, even an example to man. Brehm, the famous naturalist, declares that true marriage is found only among the Birds. The little child playing Birdling in the nest and the Mother-bird, is learning the first lesson of Monogamy, and unfolding the unconseious instinct of the Family.

It is true that not all Birds are monogamous nor are they all good examples of domestic fidelity. Very familiar is the old rooster strutting amid his polygamous household in the barn-yard. In fact, the fowls of the air will show every stage of domesticity, from the utterly faithless euekoo laying its egg in another's nest, to the love-bird which is said to pine away and die over its dead mate, united in life and in death.

2. But when we come to the Mammals another law seems to prevail. The paradise of the Bird-family is broken up; Polygamy in many grades and forms enters the animal kingdom. The father for the most part disburdens himself of the care of his offspring; the mother, however, makes up his deficiency, nursing and providing for her young with strong affection. At this stage there is among brutes a kind of Matriarchate or rule of the mother, the father being often left out or

actually driven off by her, as he shows himself useless, or sometimes positively hostile to his own offspring. Yet even among the lower Mammals we do not find by any means uniformity in this matter; the males in certain cases, as the whale, the seal, the rein-deer (see Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, p. 12), and other animals, stay with the mother after the birth of the young, and protect the family.

3. But when we reach the Quadrumana, the highest among Mammals, the law seems to change gradually back again toward Monogamy. Undoubtedly many species of the monkey and the ape are polygamous. But the simang, the orang-outang, and other man-like apes show decided leanings toward a monogamous state. The males, though often separated from the females, are seen with the young, evidently caring for them and defending them, thus showing some degree of paternal responsibility, which naturally springs from a monogamous relation, at least among animals.

The Gorilla, which is usually considered the animal nearest to man, has an interesting history in this connection. Mr. Darwin considers the Gorilla to be a polygamist (*Descent of Man*, Univ. Ed., p. 245), but later observers declare that the male and female live with their young in one family. Both statements are probably true; the Gorilla has his wife and family, which he

protects; but he has also been observed taking a free range of the tropical forest. His stronger instinct is probably monogamous, but that does not hinder him from showing polygamous lapses. What Darwin cites in reference to a much lower animal, has pertinence in this connection; "the lion in South Africa sometimes lives with a single female, but generally with more."

The foregoing stage of the animal Family (including man) is evidently an uncertain, fluctuating, somewhat chaotic stage. We call it Natural Monogamy, since its general trend is monogamous, though amid many variations, retrogressions, and contradictory tendencies. There is yet no fixed law of the Institution, no full development of the rational, permanent element of the Family. It is a potential state, containing the future of the Family, whose threads of existence are here floating in a sea of possibilities.

There has been in recent years a good deal of discussion in regard to the beginnings of human marriage. Most anthropologists have believed that primitive man and woman lived in a state of promiscuity; there was no marriage of individual to individual, but "a communal marriage;" that is, the whole community or tribe of males and females dwelt together in promiscuous intercourse, and the children belonged to the tribe or perchance to the mother alone. Polyandry, still existent among a good many tribes in different

parts of the globe, is supposed by Mr. M'Lennan and others to imply a previous condition of promiscuity in the sexual relation.

On the contrary it has been stoutly affirmed that no such state of promiscuity has ever been found among primitive races, in the sense of being a general stage of the domestic development of mankind. Westermarck has written a book (*The History of Human Marriage*) whose chief object is to show just the opposite. He brings together a great deal of evidence which indicates that the lowest races of man as well as the highest species of animals are in the main monogamous. This view is confirmed by many of the facts adduced in Darwin's *Descent of Man*. The work of Westermarck has shaken, if not refuted the doctrine of promiscuity.

The reader is aware from the preceding exposition that we hold the view of Westermarck to be strongly confirmed by psychology. The original psychological nature of man leads him, yea drives him towards Monogamy. Those three fundamental passions, bringing man and woman together and cementing them into the unity of the Family — sexuality, love, and jealousy — are primarily monogamous, are deeply at work in the heart of the savage, and even of the animal. The inner movement of the soul thus corresponds to the outer movement of the fact which has been so copiously set forth by Westermarck in his book.



We cannot help adding that Westermarck shows one grand fatality: he has no psychology and hence no true ordering principle in his work, for his so-called scientific method is not only shallow but chaotic. Still he has given us a very suggestive piece of work to which we gladly confess our obligations.

Plainly does it appear that the soul of Nature herself, as far as she manifests herself in the domestic instinct, strives to be monogamous; Marriage in its faintest beginning, and, as we shall see later, in its most highly developed end, means the one male and the one female in union. We say that Nature strives in this stage, for Natural Monogamy is a grand striving with many turns and lapses and recoils — a mighty struggle toward an ideal end.

But this ideal end is not to be attained immediately, the Family has to pass through a new discipline. The Monogamy of Nature we see everywhere in a state of change and dissolution, being exposed to all the caprices of untamed passion, which belongs to animal and savage life. The three passions already mentioned, which primarily tend to Monogamy, easily turn to an assault on the same. The strong man of the tribe, led by his appetite or his love, will take by force the wife of the weaker man. The result is a dual condition shows itself: the chieftains have several wives in a community which is other-

wise monogamous. Indeed the number of wives comes to indicate the superiority of the ruler over the mass of his subjects, and is taken as mark of his wealth, power and splendor. Thus dawns a new stage in the social history of the race.

II. POLYGAMY. In this stage we no longer see the immediate unity of one male and one female constituting the Family, but multiplicity enters, first on the one side, then on the other, and finally on both sides — many males to one female, many females to one male, and also many females to many males. Such are the three leading forms which Polygamy has taken in the Evolution of the Family.

On the whole, Polygamy is a social advance upon Natural Monogamy, in which the married relation is so uncertain. This relation now becomes more fixed and stronger, and begins to be institutional. There is no doubt that Polygamy has been the training of mankind out of the Natural into the Spiritual Monogamy of the domestic Institution. It is the great intermediate stage in the total Evolution of the Family, and brings with it a certain degree of civilization. More peoples, who may be called civilized on this globe, are to-day practicing or permitting Polygamy by law and custom, than make up the total number of strictly monogamous peoples. It may, therefore, be considered in one sense a more universal phase of the Family than any other.

Still we must be careful always to note the reverse side of the picture: in a polygamous society very few can be practical polygamists. First, there is the limit of nature, which, on the whole, brings forth one woman to one man. There are not enough females born on the earth, or in any considerable part thereof, to supply every man with even two wives. As already said, Nature is fundamentally monogamous, and asserts her instinct also in polygamous countries. In Egypt, says Mr. Lane, not one husband in twenty has two wives. According to Syed Amir Ali, more than ninety-five per cent of the Moham-edans in India are at the present moment, either by conviction or necessity, monogamists. Indeed the custom of Polygamy meets with decided disapprobation among many educated followers of the Prophet, in spite of his example and the Koran. The same holds true of the vast quantity of humanity in China, Persia, Siam, Hindostan, and other Oriental lands where Polygamy exists (see examples in Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 438).

In the second place, we see the decided social scission produced by Polygamy (or specially by Polygyny). Many wives become a badge of domination, of pride, of distinction. Thus a separation begins to show itself between the great mass of the People and their Rulers, and unavoidably a conflict sets in, which often involves authority and even religion. So the evolutionary pro-

cess will be seen in many phases working through Polygamy. The Orient has been and still is polygamous, but owing to contact with the West as well as inner causes, there is a strong social fermentation going on just in this sphere among its most advanced peoples.

Finally we cannot help observing the inner trouble and dissolution which must be always threatening the polygamous Family. Many husbands or many wives must mean many quarrels. The woman, educated and independent, will in the end destroy Polygamy, and this is really the wedge which has just begun to enter with might Oriental civilization.

Still it is curious to observe how deeply ingrown with human consciousness Polygamy may become. A story is told of an intelligent chief, believing in progress, but a polygamist, who "was perfectly scandalized at the utter barbarism" of living one's whole life with only one wife, and never parting from her until separated by death. Indeed such a state was lower than barbarism, it descended to animality, being "just like the Wanderoo monkeys" living off yonder in the woods and mountains. In one sense the chief was right. He had observed the stage of Natural Monogamy (seen in many monkeys and the higher Quadrumana, which are monogamous), and he justly deemed his own polygamous state as more advanced than that. But when he

was told that all civilized Europe was monogamous, he was deeply shocked, and could only compare it with the Wanderoo monkeys, and pity such a civilization, when placed beside his own. (See Darwin's *Descent of Man*, Univ. Ed., p. 675.)

Thus we find an inner movement or evolution in Polygamy, of which we have already noted three kinds or stages. Or we may say three forms of multiplicity in the domestic relation instead of unity—male or female manyness or both. Which of these stages is to come first? As we see the movement, the last mentioned, the plurality of both wives and husbands in one Family—is the psychical beginning, though this cannot be shown to be always the strict historical order.

1. The first stage we may name the *Consanguine Marriage*, or perchance the Punaluan; this last word is Hawaiian, and is taken from the language of the people among whom this form of Marriage was first distinctly observed. It is constituted by a group of brothers marrying a group of sisters or of women not necessarily related; that is, each brother is the husband of all the women and each woman is the wife of all the brothers. Conversely a group of sisters may marry a group of related or unrelated husbands. The same form of Marriage is still found among the Todas of India, and traces of it are said to exist elsewhere.

It is evident that in the present case family has a tendency to marry family, the individual is not the unit of marriage. In a similar manner wives have been supposed to be common to all members of a given clan or tribe, out of which the Family as a union of individuals gradually emerged. But on the whole the Consanguine Family is a rare phenomenon, and can never have been general; intrusion into it is too easy.

One fact, however, is certain: in such a relation paternity becomes doubtful, the child belongs with certainty to its mother alone. Here-with rises into view a new condition, which has been called metrocracy or the rule of the mother, through whom and not through the father kinship was reckoned and property was inherited.

The Consanguine Marriage, if it once arose, would not hold out long. The great object of the Family is the child, and it is now the woman's, whoever be the father. In the sphere of the Family she becomes the absolute possessor of its treasure, namely the child, giving to the same her title and property.

The preceding terms, *Consanguine* and *Punaluan*, as applied to the Family, are the coinage of the brain of Dr. Lewis Morgan, whose services in the present field are of the highest. The Evolution of the Family he divides into five successive stages (see his *Ancient Society*, p. 385). According to Morgan the Consanguine Family

“ was founded upon the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral in a group.” That is, the primordial Family arose from the brothers of one Family marrying their own sisters, not severally but in a mass. This position has been strongly attacked on all sides, and is at the present time pretty generally discredited. Dr. Morgan himself admits that such a Consanguine Family as he describes does not exist anywhere to-day (p. 401), in savage or barbarous societies. He infers it from existing marriage customs, which, however, have probably a different explanation.

But the Punaluan Family does exist and must be taken into the account. “ This is founded upon the intermarriage of several sisters, with each other’s husbands, who are not necessarily kinsmen of each other.” And the reverse Family also is possible, namely the intermarriage of several brothers with each other’s wives, the latter not being necessarily related. Thus the blood of different Families intermingles in the Punaluan Family, though on one side it is still consanguine. Hence this latter term may be applied to it without ambiguity, inasmuch as Morgan’s Consanguine Family has been substantially eliminated from science.

A distinction which has maintained itself was first introduced by Mr. M’Lennan, that between endogamy and exogamy. There are many un-

civilized peoples who avoid marrying outside of their own tribe; these are called endogamous. On the other hand there are many uncivilized peoples who avoid marrying inside their own tribe, these are called exogamous. The value of this distinction is strongly questioned by Dr. Morgan (*Ancient Society*, p. 511), and it has given rise to some confusion. Every people is doubtless both endogamous and exogamous in a way; it has a limit inside of which Marriage is not customary (usually that of blood-kin) and it has also a limit outside of which Marriage is not customary (that of class, caste, race). Thus Marriage is located between an inner and outer circle of prohibition; it should not take place among the too near or the too remote. This marriageable territory for man and woman is undoubtedly widening with civilization, but the outer limit, specially of race, still exists for even the most emancipated.

In the Consanguine Family (as before described) the mother is emphatically chosen to be the maintainer of the infantile domestic Institution, since Nature points her out as mother of her child, while the father is or may be quite unknown. Now in this child centers the grand purpose of the Institution, hence rises the supreme importance, indeed almost the sole importance of the mother at this stage. Authority passes into her hands, and with it comes a



new stage of the Family, though still polygamous.

2. *Polyandry* is, in general, that form of the Family in which the wife has several husbands. It has been shown to be far more prevalent among primitive peoples than the preceding Consanguine Marriage, through which many tribes probably never passed. But Polyandry seems to show so many traces in all parts of the globe, and among so many civilized peoples past and present that it may well lay claim to being a universal stage in the Evolution of the Family.

Polyandry has two well-marked classes. One is called the Thibetan Polyandry, in which the woman's husbands are brothers; this phase of Polygamy seems to be derived from the preceding phase, the Consanguine Marriage, and is said to be more common than the second kind of Polyandry, in which the husbands are not related (called Nair Polyandry; see Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, p. 155).

It was Bachofen, the Swiss jurist, who first called attention to the fact that "kinship through mothers only" prevailed among certain peoples of antiquity. He moreover came to the conclusion that this stage preceded the stage of kinship through males, and that there was among primitive peoples a supremacy of woman, a kind of metrocracy or matriarchate. M'Lennan and Mor-

gan entered the same field with extensive research, followed by other investigators.

These results have met with contradiction. Numerous savage tribes have been cited which do not trace kinship through the mother, but through the father (Westermarck, *History of Marriage*, p. 98). Thus it is probable that some primitive peoples have quite escaped the matriarchate, but most have gone through it apparently. There is undoubtedly a stage in Human Society which tends to Polyandry, in a more or less pronounced degree. But it does not presuppose an antecedent condition of sexual promiscuity, as M'Lenan and others have thought. On the contrary, its prior form is rather Monogamy, as we have previously endeavored to show. Still Polyandry and the matriarchate are found among all races, Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian, and in both hemispheres, though some tribes of these races seem to have quite escaped or to have quickly passed through it.

The evidence, then, compels us to accept Polyandry as a stage in the general Evolution of the Family, and also as an advance upon Natural Monogamy. The mother and child are not only recognized, but emphasized. This primary relation of the Family is separated and thereby made distinct in human consciousness. In the previous condition the stress is more upon the sexual relation, the man and woman, but now the stress

passes to mother and child — a considerable step forward in the development of the Family.

Still further, Polyandry may be regarded as the discipline of motherhood. The woman as the bearer of the child has to have her race-training to her task. She is the center of the Family with its responsibility; the mother alone now exists in a domestic sense, the father being a vanishing element, perchance unknown; the children are hers exclusively, and are called by her name (or totem) and are related to her kindred alone. Clearly the Mother of the Race is here put under training; man is to have a mother before he has a father, fatherhood being a later development as we shall see, though physically first.

Nature points out emphatically the mother, but she (Nature) is inclined to hide the father who has to be unfolded and revealed by Institutions. We can also see that the wife is now absolutely the home-maker, the home is hers, and round it the various husbands may revolve in the distance as a group of satellites. Property, too, is hers, and descends through her to her children; her own brothers having no recognized children of their own, in a polyandrous state of society, would recognize hers as their kin and give them protection and property. The woman in Polyandry would likewise have her preference, to a degree she might be able to select the father of her child — which tendency is toward the disso-

lution of the polyandrous relation. Naturally she would choose the one she admires — the strong, the heroic, the better man among her husbands. Thus the monogamous instinct makes itself valid against Polyandry. And the man of power would put in some heavy strokes for sole possession of the woman, being impelled by two of those primitive passions of the human soul, love and jealousy, and possibly by some others, such as avarice.

Thus Polyandry has in it decided elements of dissolution, but while it lasts it gives to the mother greater power than she has ever had in any state of society since. It has been called *Metrocracy* or the Government of the Mother, all other forms of Government afterwards being *Androcracies* or Governments of Men, such as democracy, aristocracy, monarchy, etc. But specially we may deem Polyandry, in the Evolution of the Family, as the grand training of the Mother to the love and care of her child, upon whom her life is centered by being made husbandless, or, what is the next thing to it, many-husbanded.

Already we have indicated the seeds of dissolution in Polyandry. Both love and jealousy will assail it from both sides, male and female. Then heredity will play in. The love of the mother for her offspring, concentrated and intensified by Polyandry, must pass to her son, who in the

course of the evolutionary cycle will also feel the mother's intense love of the child. Slowly the man, the father, will transform the Family that he too may have offspring as well as the mother, and may know it as his own. Indeed he will now evolve an institution which will make him reasonably certain of his paternity. Nature, as already said, leaves no doubt as to the mother, but she has not been so gracious to the father, who has, accordingly, to help himself out by a new social arrangement.

3. This is *Polygyny*, that form of the Family in which the man has two or more wives. The center now shifts from the female to the male who is the domestic unit; the husband is one, the wives are many. Polygyny is a social stage which is, on the whole, more advanced than Polyandry, and far more common. Its range is very great, it reaches down to the animal, yet is found among many civilized nations. Indeed the most extended of all world-civilizations is the Oriental, and it is essentially polygynous.

Again we must see in this form of society a great training of humanity unto the end of the Family. Very manifestly the father is wheeled into line and is made to take up his domestic burden. For it is not mere sensuality which produces Polygyny, the sexual passion could be gratified at an outlay of much less trouble and expense. It is the man's love of offspring, his

desire of fatherhood, which he can have inherited from a long line of maternal ancestors. He becomes the head of the Family, in a way the head of several Families. He takes several wives and puts them under stringent control in order to safeguard his paternity.

Thus the Patriarchate rises into view, furnishing a decided contrast to the Matriarchate, the one being based on Polygyny, the other on Polyandry. The Patriarchal Family is familiar to us from the Hebrew Bible, but we have had no Matriarchal Literature till the present generation.

In Polygyny the woman is put under a new training for the Family. She is therein to be disciplined out of her polyandrous consciousness into fidelity to one man. Polygyny springs from the husband's distrust of the wife, and so he builds an institution, which puts her into a harem, guards her with eunuchs, and makes her veil her face when she goes forth into the world outside of her domestic walls. A bitter discipline it seems to us, still we may find the ground of its justification. The father is going to secure fatherhood at all hazards against the hitherto polyandrous nature of the woman. Meanwhile she through harsh servitude is moving toward freedom, she is getting ready for Monogamy, of which she will become the guardian, exacting from the man the same fidelity toward her which

she gives to him, and which he in justice must grant.

In Polygyny, the father having different sets of children and wives has a training unto justice, since he must settle their disputes, their conflicting claims. Indeed, he must organize them into a kind of State, the patriarchal State, and bring them all under impartial judgment and the law. Though he be the father, he must also be the judge and the ruler. His power is absolute, and he may become the tyrant, still he has some restraint in affection and perchance in his sense of justice. The children now take the father's name, and the property is his and descends through him to his heirs. The Patriarchate has in it the training of the father into the ruler, and thus forms one line of transition from Family to State.

Moreover Polygyny is connected in the Oriental mind with splendor, many wives indicate much power and wealth. The poor cannot be polygynous even in polygynous countries. This makes a social distinction which shows in time a disintegrating power.

Polygyny has shown itself to be a far stronger and more persistent element in the Evolution of the Family than Polyandry; still it too dissolves and passes into a higher stage. The father must transmit his qualities to his daughter as well as to his son; the woman, born in Polygyny, must finally inherit enough of his independence and

love of rule to protest against her chains. She will also feel that the very purpose of the institution has reached its end when she is conscious of her womanly fidelity. And the man, growing in the consciousness of justice, must recognize the claim.

Moreover a whole people cannot be polygynous, nature forbids; only a small fraction of the total population have or can have more than one wife. Thus Polygyny can never be compulsory, a law of the nation; at most it is permissive and for the few. It belongs to the Oriental despotism, or rather to the theocracy, in which God's chosen favorites have the divine privilege of many wives.

In the Evolution of the Family, Polygyny passes into Monogamy, which must rest on trust and love. The wife is faithful to the one, not through force but in freedom, and shows a character in the West quite unknown in the Orient. It has been often remarked that the women of the Hebrew Bible are far from being an ideal set, beginning with Mother Eve. It looks as if she were in continual sullen protest against her institutional world, which brought out the devil in her nature. Woman, according to the Hebrew story, is the cause of man's fall and wickedness. There is a tendency in Oriental literature and folklore, and hence in Oriental consciousness to regard the feminine as the incarnation of the Satanic. The Eternal-womanly (*Das Ewig-weibliche*)



belongs to the Occident, certainly not to Judea or the Orient. It starts distinctly with Homer. Polygyny could not well make a good woman; we may almost affirm that it stands to her credit that in such a condition she showed her negative nature to such a degree that the Oriental man has given her a bad name.

The advance out of Polygyny is a great step for the man, but a greater one for the woman. Relatively at least she has won freedom and equality—freedom from suspicious surveillance, and equality in selfhood; for her one undivided Self she receives one undivided Self in return. This brings us to the third great stage in the Evolution of the Family.

III. INSTITUTIONAL MONOGAMY. Already we have noticed an undercurrent of Monogamy both in Polyandry and Polygyny, that is, permitted Monogamy. But now it is to become compulsory, enforced by Law and Institution, as well as sanctioned by Morality. Monogamy is for all, universal, or can be made so; it is the blessing which the whole people, high and low, rich and poor, king and subject, may share and finally must share, if they enter the Family at all. The ruler, whatever be his grandeur, must be monogamous too. Thus it is an advance in equality, in democracy, if you please; certainly a phase of individual freedom versus absolutism. Very naturally Institutional Monogamy was definitively

born and vindicated in Greece, being there elevated into a portion of the spiritual heritage of the race.

We may repeat in this connection that neither Polyandry nor Polygyny can be made into a universal principle for a nation, and hence can never be enacted into a law, which is binding on all. Just the opposite is Monogamy, which becomes universal of its own inherent power, being capable of legality. Thus we reach the stage which may be called Institutional Monogamy, since it is the law both statutory and moral. The first stage, that of Natural Monogamy, is the immediate monogamic impulse of Nature; this remains, but no longer as rude physical desire, being now mediated through the Institution.

A great period in the history of man it was when Monogamy permanently arose and became institutional. Not in a day was the transition accomplished, still the point in time and place can be distinctly marked. Europe begins with Institutional Monogamy, which is more than any other fact the salient characteristic of Occidental civilization. The Family changes wholly when it passes out of Polygamy into Monogamy; the woman, the child, the father, are transformed by the new domestic Institution, the basis of all other Institutions. The great change can be summed up in the statement that man and woman too can now become free, institutionally free.

It is the enduring glory of the old Greek world that it established, proclaimed, defended, and fought for Monogamy, and thus made the spiritual passage out of polygamous Asia into monogamous Europe. Greece was born through the Trojan War which was waged for the restoration of Helen, the one wife, to her husband, when she had been stolen by an Oriental prince. The whole Iliad rests upon the conception of the monogamous Family, which has been violated by Troy, but is asserted by all Hellas with its army and ten years' war against the Trojan city, which will not give back the wife on demand of the Greeks. Priam, ruler of Troy, has a dubious, if not a polygamous, household, though Hector and Andromache are supremely monogamous. But Hector hates the deed of Paris, the seducer, advises the restoration of Helen, and thinks his country wrong, though he fights in its defense when it is assailed. Thus the great poem which opens the Occident has as its underlying institutional theme the monogamous Family, showing the violation thereof and the punishment of that violation. The Iliad sings the prelude of European civilization, attuning itself to the keynote which throbs in the tale of Helen, whose theme is the restoration of the one wife to the one husband.

When we look at the Odyssey, we find the same fact intensified. First of all is the fidelity of the wife Penelope, who is put to the hardest trial

possible, but never flinches in her devotion to her husband. Here the monogamous tie is celebrated in the woman beyond any example in literature. Of the same character is Arete who is the womanly soul of that ideal Phaeacian world, hardly yet realized in these days. Nor has the old poet spared the guilty wife — witness the fate of faithless Clytemnestra.

It may be said, therefore, that Homer has written the Bible of Monogamy for the Occident. In this regard he has been supremely the educator of the European consciousness. He first assigned to the woman her true position in the Family, and flashed the outlines of her character upon the future, so that she is still fulfilling his prophecy. Incalculable has been his influence in moulding the domestic Institution of the Occident, and along with it necessarily other Institutions. We go back to the old Greek bard, and, after communing with his shapes, we feel often compelled to say: Our age has not yet altogether overtaken Homer.

As the Hebrews wrote the Bible of Monotheism for the Occident, so Homer wrote the Bible of Monogamy for the Occident. We are, indeed, the heirs of both, yet we have rejected a part of both inheritances. The Polygamy of the Hebrew we cannot accept, nor can we accept the Polytheism of Homer. The religious Bible belongs to the Semite, the secular Bible belongs to the

Greek; both are fountain-heads of our institutional world, which has just these two main streams, secular and religious. The Greek had many Gods, but insisted upon having one wife (as in the story of Helen); the Hebrews on the contrary had many wives (as in the case of Solomon) but insisted upon having the one God. Christendom has accepted the unity in both instances and rejected the multiplicity. Homer, therefore, has gone in advance and set up for future civilization the ideal of Institutional Monogamy. We may next briefly note how this ideal has been realized in the historic fact, by taking a glance at the chief peoples of Europe since Homer's time in regard to the present matter.

1. If Homer be assigned to the legendary age of Greece, it will have to be confessed that the historic age of that country fell behind its poet's ideal. At Athens there was a strict Monogamy by law and custom; but the wife was secluded in the home, attending to the round of domestic duties, while the husband often indulged in a good deal of laxity in his sexual relations. The prominence of the Homeric woman as the upholder of the Family quite vanishes in later Greek life, though Attic tragedy sometimes recalled her former independence, as in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. Plato in his *Republic* proposed to reconstruct entirely the position of the

Athenian woman of his age, giving her equal opportunities and rights with the man. But he destroys the Family, and shows himself the foe of Monogamy — which fact may be deemed one ground of his opposition to Homer, though he assigns another. Here the poet is far greater than the philosopher.

In Rome also the monogamous relation prevailed, and the Roman wife, though completely subject to her husband, had a position of honor and authority. The Roman Family, however, went to pieces with the dissolution of the Republic, and from the same general cause.

2. Passing out of Heathendom into Christendom we observe a dual position of the Family, a side of elevation and a side of degradation, a purification of it on the one hand and a disparagement of it on the other. In the New Testament very meager are the statements of Christ in reference to the domestic Institution, though he evidently regarded it as monogamous, and as a tie not to be dissolved except for one cause, infidelity on the part of husband or wife. But Paul has a low opinion of woman, and evidently regards marriage as a necessary evil. He still keeps the degraded Hebrew notion which springs from Polygamy. Some of his reasons why marriage is to be tolerated can only be pronounced immoral. Christ and the apostles generally held aloof from the domestic

Institution, and their example went over into the Church.

In early and medieval Christianity celibacy began its domination, which was carried to such an extent that holiness was conceived to be inconsistent with the domestic Institution. There is no doubt that religion took a strongly antagonistic attitude to the Family; the entire hierarchical organization of the Church became celibate. It is true that the clergy placed upon marriage certain restrictions which tended to Monogamy as well as to the permanence and purity of the married relation; but it was all done from the outside with a kind of toleration and condescension on the part of the priesthood, who did not and could not set the example to their flock in their lives. In fact the confession must be made that marriage in early heathen Greece and Rome was a more profoundly religious act than in the medieval Christian world. Logically the doctrine of celibacy means the extinction of the human race in proportion to its holiness; to make man good he must be destroyed.

Against this negative tendency of the religious Institution rose a mighty reaction in course of centuries. In order to save himself man returns to antiquity and revives its secular Institutions with its culture and its freedom. This brings us to the next stage.

3. The Reformation was specially a new birth

of the Family, for which it did more than for any other Institution. With this renaissance of the Family came a renaissance of humanity, a fresh humanization of the world. Celibacy in particular was cast off as hostile to man; the Family was lifted out of its antagonism to the holy life, and through it religion was made to stream over into the secular world and assist in its progress toward freedom.

The great poet of this renaissance is Shakespeare, who has given expression to it more completely and more beautifully than any other writer or artist. In his portrayal of the character of woman and her devotion to the domestic Institution, he recalls his eldest poetic brother, ancient Homer. In Shakespeare's comedies, marriage is the grand end of Love, which thus finds its fruition in the domestic Institution. In one of his dramas, *Measure for Measure*, he brings directly before us the above-mentioned institutional element of the Reformation; a monk and a nun are introduced, who, however, have to return to the secular life from which they have fled, in order to purify it and impart to it their virtue. The outcome of the play is that they marry each other, wherein monastic celibacy is shown passing over into the domestic Institution, in which is to be found the new holy life.

The preceding view of the Family belongs chiefly to Northern or Teutonic Europe, in which



the Reformation prevailed. In Southern or Latin Europe the aspect of the domestic Institution is somewhat different and it is certainly weaker, less prolific, less influential. Particularly in France the Family seems to be losing its reproductive power, whatever be the cause.

The future development of the Family will probably continue on the lines of Institutional Monogamy, which insists primarily upon the relation of one man and one woman, protecting and defending the same by law. New problems are thrusting themselves upon the domestic Institution, particularly from the side of the woman, whose position in a number of important respects is changing in the modern era. Woman, especially in America, is now being educated on a par with men; the social vocations are thrown open to her on every side. Still her chief vocation must remain that of being the mother of mankind. This limit is drawn so firmly upon her that there is no escape. The Family must continue supremely her Institution, and in it she must find her true freedom. Of course there will be exceptions, the ups and downs of life may turn her away from marriage, and she must be allowed to choose freely whether she will or not take upon herself her sex's main burden. The complete institutional freedom of the Family demands that her Free Will must will the reproduction of the Free-Will, which has been stated

to be the end and purpose of the domestic Institution.

Such is a brief statement of Institutional Monogamy, as it has unfolded itself in European civilization. Its first prophetic note was sung by ancient Homer, who has set forth the monogamous ideal for all succeeding ages, particularly through his female characters. With him our literature begins, for without the love of man and woman there is no Occidental literature, at least not in any universal sense. Through the Greek and Roman, through the early Christian and Medieval periods, Monogamy has remained the institutional basis of the Family, till it has attained its present development. Thus we have again reached our starting-point, the positive Family.

Nor must we forget that the human Family, ere it attained its monogamous stage, went through a long training in other forms of the domestic relation. These have been cursorily treated in the preceding Evolution of the Family, whose manifold forms we need not here repeat. Such is the total process of the domestic Institution.

*Some Observations on the Family.* We have now set forth the three grand stages of the Family — Positive, Negative, and Evolutionary — which are always existent in every people, and are always in a process with one another, form-

ing the total movement of the domestic Institution. Now as the Family is the source of all Institutions, so this movement will be found in them all, and ordering them according to its fundamental stages. The Family transmits its psychical organization also to its institutional progeny.

1. From the preceding exposition we see that the development of Institutional Monogamy has taken place chiefly in the Aryan race. Yet this characteristic is not racial, for many Asiatic Aryans are polygamous. Nor have all European Aryans been monogamous; the ancient Germans, Slavs, Scandinavians practiced polygyny. Not till the Aryan race had been passed through the Greco-Roman alembic, was Monogamy secured to civilization. Even since then, however, many relapses have taken place. Christianity has not infrequently tolerated polygyny; St. Augustine has expressly said that he did not condemn it, and Luther allowed Philip of Hessen to marry two women, "since Christ is silent on the subject of polygyny." The Merovingian kings practiced it, and royalty has hardly abandoned a certain form of it to-day. After the terrible destruction of males during the Thirty Years' War some German states legally sanctioned bigamy (see Westermark, *Human Marriage*, p. 434), which was a heathenish Teutonic relapse to the Germans of Tacitus. Institutional Monogamy

is, therefore, not Aryan, not European, not even Christian originally, but belongs to Greco-Roman antiquity, which made it the foundation stone of all future civilization of the best form. This is not saying that both Greeks and Romans did not often violate its principle.

2. The various stages of relapse in the Perverted Family (see third phase of the Negative Family) are reversions from former stages of the Evolution of the Family, wherein we note that what was once progress becomes later retrogression, and unethical besides. The woman, who, in a monogamous society, lapses to polyandry, is unethical; the same is true of the man who, in a monogamous society, goes back to polygyny. Thus we observe that Ethics has ultimately an institutional origin, and the moral conscience is really a product and growth of the development of Institutions, which becomes an organic element of every normal Self. The supreme virtue of man is, accordingly, what may be called institutional virtue, that virtue whose habit is to will institutional Will in its full actuality.

3. There is a dispute among naturalists as to whether the higher Quadrumana are social, whether they live in gangs or in pairs, or even lead solitary lives for the most part. The Gorilla is declared to be not gregarious, and also the Chimpanzee, by competent observers. The

Ourang-outang is well-known for his solitary habits. It has been, accordingly, supposed that our fruit-eating, half-human ancestor must have had a good deal of the same character. In fact many of the primitive sorts of mankind show to-day a total lack of association beyond the Family; no tribe, no communal life, or only the faintest traces thereof can be found.

It may, therefore, be said that it is the Family which trains man towards and into Society. He must first be domesticated ere he can be socialized. Already we have noted the part which domestication plays in every Family whose origin dates from to-day in civilization; every man and woman after being married have to go through the process of being domesticated. But the race also has gone through just that process too, starting (let us suppose) with some frugivorous anthropoid ape roaming the primeval woods in solitary selfishness, gathering and eating nuts and berries and wild fruits. So sorely does such a being need domestication, and he gets it through untold æons of discipline, till he at last becomes not only domestic, but also social. In a certain degree every married pair has to pass through afresh this training of the race.

4. There is a great people, reputed to be nearly one-third of the human species, also highly civilized in many respects, which has never fully unfolded beyond the Family into the other secu-

lar Institutions. The Chinese have a vast State, but it is theoretically, and, as far as possible, practically one Family, at whose head stands the father, the emperor, who is absolute, and who regards the people as his children in tutelage. The all-penetrating virtue which is inculcated by education in Confucius and practiced universally is domestic affection (*pietas*), which undoubtedly has its place everywhere and has its beautiful side always, but which in China quite supplants other virtues and stifles free development, in fact collides deeply with Free-Will. The son, even when married, is under his father, and his father under the grandfather, and the latter, if alive, is under his dead ancestors. The Family is doubtless the primal institutional unit, the germinal cell out of which all Institutions have unfolded, but China seems to have taken this unit and crystallized it into one enormous homogeneous mass of cells with little or no inner development into other forms of institutional life. This is the peculiarity of Chinese civilization as distinct from Aryan.

Still not without opposition has all this taken place even in China. Confucius and Mencius inculcate the right of revolution along with their doctrine of filial piety; the parent must do his duty, that is, must keep his son under, else the latter will rebel. There was once a Chinese emperor who sought to destroy all books, all

records of the past, and have China begin over again, but he did not succeed.

5. In Marriage, if the union be as complete as it ought to be, it must cement the twain outwardly and inwardly in a triple fashion. First there is the unity of passion, the physical element. Secondly, there is the unity of emotion, in which the two souls are one — love. Thirdly, there is the unity of intellect, in which Thought itself gets married and gives up its isolation. Not only the body but also the heart, not only the heart but also the head is to share in the domestic Institution, when the Marriage is complete.

The absence of any one of these three elements makes the union less strong. Physically a good basis for Marriage is not given if the man or woman be decrepit, deformed, or afflicted with the taint of inherited disease. The vast mass of marriages must rest mainly upon the second element, love, which is the emotional unity, and which ought to be permanent, yet has to be renounceable, as experience shows. But in the modern world and specially in the Occident, the third element is rising into prominence, chiefly because of the higher education of the woman, who is inclined to look with favor upon the man that can satisfy her head as well as her heart, she insisting that her whole Self must get married and not a part of herself. The cultured woman must be wedded in her culture, otherwise there

is a gap in the marriage, which is apt to grow wider with the years. Sometimes the man, but oftener the woman after marriage develops through study and reading into a new stage of culture which shakes or even breaks the old tie.

We have called this third stage of marriage a modern one, yet it occurs in isolated cases even in antiquity. Plutarch has told us of Portia, wife of Brutus, who shared with her husband the study of philosophy, and insisted upon sharing the secrets of his brain when he was engaged in the conspiracy against Cæsar. Shakespeare has picked up this trait of Portia in his drama of *Julius Cæsar*, and set it forth with a daring prominence, and with a prophetic outlook upon the coming woman. She insists upon knowing her husband's thoughts, and declares, if she is excluded from them, if she is not married to his intellect also, "Portia is Brutus' harlot, not his wife." A stunning sentence, but having many a recent counterpart both in word and deed.

6. The woman must also be free in the Family, institutionally free; she must will Free-Will in the reproduction of the Person, and this must not be forced upon her, nor is she to obey blindly sexual instinct. In other words she must will motherhood in order to be free in her Institution, she must consciously will its end, which is the existence of a new Free-Will in the world. Thus the Family secures her end, her Will, making it



actual. The woman in her supreme function must be a Free-Will producing Free-Will; her freedom is what creates freedom in her descendants; an enslaved woman cannot well give birth to free citizens. The mothers of the people, willing the existence of Free-Will in and through the domestic Institution transmit their character to their sons and bring forth a nation of freemen. Of course the father is also to have a hand in this business.

7. In polygamous society we have seen the man carefully secluding the woman and compelling her fidelity by many an external precaution. It was the hard training of the woman out of the preceding stage of Polyandry, and her preparation for Monogamy. Nature secures motherhood, but Institutions have to secure fatherhood. Here lies the reason why monogamous society still punishes the woman's infidelity more severely than the man's. She is the guardian of the man's blood, of the true descent from him, whereas he is not the guardian of her blood, of her lineage. The wife can give to the husband his own son, or another man's son, if she is faithless; but he can never impose on her another woman's child, whatever be his infidelity. In true Monogamy, of course, the husband should be as faithful as the wife.

8. The Renascence was the new birth of many things, among others of the Family, which then

rose out of its somewhat discredited medieval position. The result was that the Family began building a new Home, a worthy temple for its indwelling spirit; hence domestic Architecture sprang into existence. The palaces of the great Italian Families in Florence, Rome and Venice have made an epoch in the artistic construction of the private residence which has continued its influence down to our own day. For the Family as a free Institution must also build its dwelling-place artistically as well as Church or State.

9. The Literature of the Family has been alluded to once or twice in the preceding account, and it perhaps constitutes the greater part of human writing. Indeed the Family is probably the genetic source of Literature as it is of all Institutions. Love has begotten song and its many forms, and still drives the human being to utter himself in exalted speech more powerfully than any other emotion. The generative Institution has generated poetry naturally, in order to express its deepest character.

With Love rises the need of expression and of mirroring the Family to the individual, who thereby becomes aware of its principle and its movement. The young man and the young woman seek to be conscious of the Family; it is that toward which they are going, and their strongest instinct is to know their relations and their responsibilities in that Institution. Now there is a

realm, in fact, an Institution whose function is to reveal themselves to themselves, and therein to bring to their consciousness the nature, the duties and the conflicts of the domestic Institution, and indeed of the entire institutional world. This is the main function of Literature and Art, both of which we shall later see to be phases of the great Educative Institution, whose chief object is to reproduce and keep alive and active in the human soul the spirit of all Institutions, and among them specially the spirit of the Family.

## CHAPTER SECOND. — SOCIETY.

We have at present reached the second stage in the total process of the Secular Institution, of which the first stage has just been given — the Family. The Will now utters or realizes itself in an object which thereby becomes Property, or *the willed Product*; here we note the primal psychical act of separation in the present sphere. This willed Product, however, is to be passed through Society or the Social Whole in some form, and returned to the individual for his sustenance. Thus his bodily and other Wants are *mediated* through the Social Institution, instead of being gratified *immediately*, or on the first impulse. By means of such an Institution, not one man

alone can live, but all men can live together, and mutually help satisfy one another's needs.

The social Wants have been usually summed up as those of food, raiment, and shelter. Three outer coverings of the inner Self we may regard them; the body is a covering which is reproduced by food, raiment is a covering for the body, and shelter is a covering for both, that is, for the body clothed. So the Self surrounds itself with three external layers in succession, which constitute its fundamental Wants, whereby it is made to actualize itself in Society, and this may be deemed its deepest need, that of self-actualization in the Institution.

The term Society is here used in the sense of the Economic Body, the Industrial Order, the Commercial World. The word is often employed in a wider meaning than this, embracing quite what the present book calls Social Institutions. While the two usages of the word and its derivatives cannot and need not be wholly eschewed, we shall try, in the present chapter especially, to adhere to the narrower and more definite sense.

We may derive Society externally from the Family, since a number of Families associated together in almost any sort of order might be called a Society. But such a relation does not count for much in this connection, as we may conceive of a collection of Families forming the

clan, the village, or indeed the nation. Society, then, means something more than the mere outward bringing together of certain units called Families, nor is it simply an assemblage of individuals.

Society, as here conceived, is an Institution, which is always human Will actualized, made existent in the world and functioning there, whose end is to render valid Free Will. This, as already stated, is the common principle of all Institutions, but Society is a unique form of actualized Will, having its own special character, which it derives from its starting-point, namely Want. Man has Wants; to satisfy them in a rational, that is, universal way, he builds Society.

The end and the product of the antecedent Family was the Person, born, reared, and in a degree educated; he may now be conceived to have graduated from that Institution and to have entered Society. As the result of existence he has a number of Wants; supremely he is a needer of things physical, and perchance intellectual. He was born a wantful creature into the Family, which has out of its grace supplied his early Wants; but sooner or later he is sent forth into the great world, where he is usually expected to supply his own Wants. Still he may be more needy and more helpless as a graduate than as a baby, unless the training of the Family has

helped him to help himself, has lifted himself into self-reliance and freedom.

Accordingly the individual passes from the Family into Society, from having his Wants satisfied through an outside power, to satisfying them through himself. This requires exertion, production of some kind, labor; yet such product does not directly satisfy his Wants, at least not in most cases. He has to bring it not to father and mother, but to a new provider, the Social Whole, which in return for his effort gives him back what he needs. This Social Whole or Society is now to be inspected inside and outside, and unfolded.

The great fact of Society, then, is that it is to mediate human Wants. That is, man is not to satisfy his Wants immediately, is not to seize anything at hand which may sate his appetite or still his desire, like the wild animal. Only to a small and ever diminishing degree can he directly accept the bounty of Nature. More and more, as he advances in civilization, he must mediate his Wants through the Social Institution. To be sure, the assertion of the individual Will, stimulated by some need, is the starting-point, but it must rise to the universal or institutional Will, which returns to and secures the individual Will. So it comes that man's first Wants are to be socialized ere they can be gratified, and herein lies the main difference between civilization and barbarism.

Thus the Wants of the individual, as the content of his Will, must be mediated by the Social Whole, which is made up of all Wills working to satisfy Wants. For this Social Whole is to will the gratification of the Wants of all the members composing it, who thereby are socialized or mediated. Hence I, this social individual, in satisfying my Wants, have to will at the same time the satisfaction of the Wants of all other members of the Social Whole. I cannot be absolutely selfish in Society, even when I seek my own gratification. I have to will, perhaps unconsciously, the satisfaction of others' Wants in order to satisfy my own. Or if this still be called selfish, it is at least not swinish. Such is the appearance of the Social Institution, which, however, is secular (as distinct from religious), inasmuch as it secures the individual Will stimulated by Want.

I cannot eat a piece of bread and satisfy my hunger without mediately satisfying the hunger of the baker, the miller, the farmer, in fact without involving the total Social Organism. I must feed it with the products of my labor in order to get fed myself; and in feeding it, I am feeding the feeder of all like myself. Thus the Social Institution strips me of my mere individualism and universalizes me even through my bodily greeds, making my animal nature over by a humanizing process. Such at least is the pur-



pose of the Institution, though it can be perverted, as we shall see.

The social movement, then, in its simplest sweep, is from the man hungry, through the Institution, back to the man satisfied. This movement will draw much else into its maelstrom, still it will remain to the end. Every day the individual body of each living being has to be kept renewing and reproducing itself — this is its fundamental Want. To meet this Want the material must be obtained from the outside, which means effort, exertion, Will; the living body must make itself the implement of its own life; it must reduce itself to a means in order to be its end; through activity it has to supply fuel just for that activity; its own effort, producing sustenance, produces the condition of its own effort.

Thus the individual Will through the physical Body has to return to itself and reproduce itself by making its activity possible. To that starting-point from which it goes forth, it comes back re-creating the same. Now this physical process is objectified in the social process. In like manner we have seen that the individual Will has to return to itself through the Social Body and give validity to itself. The physical Body with its Wants finds its counterpart, its other or universal Body in the Social Institution, which truly embraces everybody as one Body, and which is

itself a Will actualized, whose function is to make valid the original individual Will.

It is a mistake, however, to consider Society simply as an organism whose workings can be expressed in biological terms; still less can it be considered as a mechanism and be expressed in mechanical terms. Ultimately Society can find the adequate utterance of its principle only in psychology, which is able to order it fully and completely, though it has its marked analogies to a mechanism, and still more to an organism, both of which may be drawn into use for helping illustrate its process.

The Social Body (universal) is, then, very different from the Human Body (individual); in fact, from the highest point of view they are opposites. The Social Body is an Institution not an animal Body; it is the latter made universal and existent as a Whole in the world, the one Body embracing all Bodies. Society is not generated like the bodily organism through the sexual pair, but is the work of the Self, the Ego, and shows the latter's process. Its function is not simply to give back assimilated to the one Body that which has been given to it in the way of food, but to give back to each social Individual what he has contributed, and to satisfy thereby the cycle of his Wants. Thus we may conceive it as the universal Body which receives, assimilates, and returns sustenance to all its diverse

particular Bodies which furnish its food in the form of labor or the willed Product.

Man is by nature as hungry as the all-devouring Ocean or as gaping Chaos; he is born into the Social Whole with mouth wide open, and with soul far wider-open. He, the all-needing, needs supremely the Universe; so he constructs out of his soul (or self) this Universal Body embracing all possible Bodies born and even unborn, and through this he is fed, which must at the same time satisfy all Wants of all men.

The individual Body has been declared to have three primary Wants — food, raiment, shelter. The Social Body may be said to have these same Wants, though in a different way. It needs shelter and raiment, it also must be protected against the strokes of Nature; then, too, it needs food, which is human effort, digesting the same in its capacious stomach and distributing what it receives to its individual members in the form of food, raiment, and shelter. The Social Whole is a kind of universal shelter or home, also a vast clothing-store, but chiefly a prodigious stomach. All these analogies are only illustrative helps, and we must remember that the illustration of the thing is not the thing itself and is not the actual statement of the thing.

The business world may be taken as the Social Whole; what is the business man doing? He is active in supplying people's Wants through the

total Social System. The vast mass of mankind is occupied in this pursuit, doing business, gaining a livelihood, or making money. Every man can see himself as a link in the social chain; Want impels him to produce for some Want, between these two Wants lies the Social Institution which mediates them.

Accordingly we observe the Will putting itself into some product which satisfies Want. Such effort is usually called labor and such product a commodity, which is the original purchase money in the store of Society, and to which some social reformers wish to return, abolishing coined money. Many thousand human beings with their daily Wants and their daily Work, the Products of their Will, form the Social Mill which is grinding every day; on the one side they are bringing their grist to be ground, and on the other they are taking away the flour for supplying their needs. Externally Society has this mechanical aspect, and the individual working in it can be reduced to a machine; indeed, instead of feeding the machine, he can be fed into the machine and consumed — which negative phase of Society is to be looked into hereafter in its proper place.

Coming back to the product into which the Will puts itself, we reach the conception of Property, a most important social element. When the individual Will realizes itself in a thing, this becomes its Property, whose charac-

teristic thus is the reality of the Will in the object; or we may say, the existence of the Person in what is material. The willed product may well be deemed the pivot of the Social Whole.

We have already seen Society spring out of the Family externally; but there is an internal relation of which we may now speak. Society is in a way the universal Family with humanity as its offspring; it is the universal father and mother who no longer give to their children food immediately but only mediately, through work, whereby these are compelled to win their freedom. The ideal end of Society's compulsion, which uses human Want as its pitiless goad, is to force man to be free. But there is a negative side, as already hinted, to this ideal striving; Society can become a mighty tyrant, an all-devouring stomach, a colossal machine which grinds to death the free-acting spirit. In an industrial crisis the individual has quite no control over his own lot. Society, though its purpose is to actualize freedom, can turn just to the opposite, to a despotic, destructive energy; it can become the colossal cannibal, veritably the Hesiodic Saturn devouring his own children

But Society has the power of overcoming its own negative power; it is, as we say, progressive, evolutionary, limit-transcending, being made up of limit-transcending Egos, in whose nature it

must participate. Yet there is always present the other tendency, which is just the matter to be overcome. The danger of the agriculturist is that he drop down to a mere vegetative life, clinging to the soil like a plant, and unfree even in locomotion. The danger of the manufacturer is that he drop down to a mere mechanical life determined by the social mill, becoming himself the machine which he ought to control. Yet the social individual can rise out of such limits, is doing so continuously.

Such is, in general, the thought of Society as a whole, or the germinal unit out of which it develops. We shall now proceed to follow this development in sufficient detail to show its main outlines. It will have three chief stages, revealing the process which is and has been at work producing it at present and from the beginning. This process is fundamentally psychological, a product of the Self which turns about and cognizes the Self as the inner moving principle in all social development. Accordingly, we may call it the Social Psychosis, whose movement is as follows: —

I. *Positive Society*; this shows Society as it is, organizing itself and reproducing itself continually as an Institution existent in the world, with its process of mediating the producer of the willed Product and the receiver or consumer of the same; this willed Product (or Property) of

the individual producer or owner is shown moving through Society or the Social Whole to the one who uses it, and calling forth a great variety of social forms for its mediation, from the most simple to the most complex.

II. *Negative Society*; this shows the reverse movement of Society, when it dissolves and breaks up into its constituents, which become antagonistic to each other. The Social Individual and the Social Whole separate and collide; the Social Whole, after assailing the Social Individual and then being assailed by him in turn, will no longer socialize his willed Product, but will change to a Perverted Society, which will finally reduce social man back to his beginning, to the natural individual at the starting point of his social ascent.

III. *The Evolution of Society*; this shows the rise of the natural individual to the Social Whole; it is, therefore, the return out of mere nature to Positive Society and completes the process which we have called the Social Psychosis. It is practically the counterpart and the corrective of the negative revolutionary movement just given, and theoretically it is the refutation of the decadent, pessimistic view of the Social Order.

The recent epoch has unfolded Evolution in response to Revolution, and shows the ascent overcoming the descent of man. The response to the shout "Back to Nature," is now heard in

the cry "Forward to the Institution." Yet both the descending and the ascending movements are integral parts of the total social process. Every science in these days must reckon with Evolution, or be one-sided; yet it is equally one-sided to regard Evolution as the whole of the scientific procedure.

It is becoming more and more evident to investigators that the pivot on which Social Evolution turns is Property, or the human Will realized in the thing, which we shall call the willed Product, thus indicating its psychical source. In recent years a great activity has been shown in tracing the origin and historic movement of Property, especially as manifested in early societies. The basic fact of Property is social recognition, not simply individual possession; that I have this thing is not enough, my having it must be recognized by others and defended by some form of a society. Property is not through myself alone, I must be supplemented by the Social Whole for its right possession.

How was man trained to Property, to recognize it as another's and to maintain the right of the other as really his own? In general the answer may be given: by the primitive Community, to which all property at first belonged, and to which the individual himself immediately belonged, as is the case largely to-day in the Village Community, for example in the Russian *mir*.



Here, then, fixed Property begins to arise, being made so, not by one, but by all, by the Social Whole. What it assigns to the individual is his own, and recognized as his own (*proprium*) by each member, who must not take the food, for instance, which has been assigned to another. Thus all are trained to Property by the Community; which is accordingly the Property-making social unit over the entire world and through all time. Not the Family is the creative unit of Society, but the primal Community; the Family we have already called the institutional cell, or the creative source of all Institutions in general. Property, then, is at first communal, not individual nor domestic; the act of training the race to Property is performed by the social Institution. Undoubtedly the individual can have a possession by mere seizure, but he can have a true ownership only through an institutional confirmation

### I. POSITIVE SOCIETY.

Society, then, starts with the individual who has Wants, which stimulate him to effort, which effort results in a willed Product. Such a Product is, accordingly, Will realized in an object, is what becomes Property of some sort, which has in it Want, Will, and Thing. The Ego is now the producer, who may consume his own

product directly, but usually it is passed through the Social Whole, and thus is socialized.

This Social Whole receives the willed Product, measures and pays the value thereof according to its own standard, and disposes of the same to the consumer. It mediates the two extremes, the producing and the consuming Egos, making the one work for all and the other receive from all, ere their respective wants can be satisfied. Thus it socializes both.

The consumer receives from the Social Whole the willed Product of the producer, uses it for his purpose, and thereby satisfies his Wants. Thus between the first Want of the producer and the final satisfaction of the consumer's Want lies the social process. To satisfy my Want, Society makes me satisfy that of another man, or indeed of all men.

It is manifest that the willed Product is what is taken up, passed through, and finally assimilated by the social process. Metaphorically we may say that it is the food which the Social Body has to digest and transmute into its living members.

This willed Product is in its simplest stage when produced by the one individual Will; but when many Wills share in its production and each has to be assigned its share out of the one Product, the Social Whole appears, which is to measure out to each Will its own. This is the institu-

tional element of Society which is herein seen giving validity to the Will of man, the producer. Thus we behold a process in the Products, which process has three stages: the single-willed Product, the many-willed Product, and the all-willed Product.

It is to be observed that the unity in all these distinctions is the *willed Product*, indicating the activity of the Will realized in some form of Property. Still further, we shall employ these compound words in order to designate the advancing association of human beings toward universal combination—*single-, many-, all-willed*. The reader will likewise notice the psychical movement suggested by the foregoing terms: from simplicity, through multiplicity, back to unity. Thus the willed Product becomes quite complex in Society, but it has one fundamental process; it starts from the individual Will (or Will of individuals), is confirmed by the Social Will, and is returned in some form to the individual Will.

Out of these three stages of the willed Product spring three forms of mediation (or exchange), which is performed by the Social Whole functioned, as it has to be, by an individual whom we may call the Middleman. Three mediating individuals, accordingly, we see, three Middlemen, whose province is to mediate the willed Product, who preside over its process from

production to consumption, which is ever rising to vaster proportions. The single-willed Product calls forth the mercantile Middleman, the trader or merchant, whose medium of exchange rises from mere barter to money. The many-willed Product calls forth the industrial Middleman, with his manufactures and his capital or organized money. The all-willed Product calls forth the universal Middleman, the monopolist, who controls one or several branches of industry, controls transportation to the market, and finally wields the complete organization of money in the Bourse or money market.

Thus the Product of the single Will begins the social movement, and the latter ends in the Product of the single Will, for Monopoly is also a single-willed Product, and so returns to the unity of the first stage, which unity, however, contains the multiplicity, or rather the totality of Wills. Positive Society or the normal Social Order, as it exists to-day in the world, has all three stages above-mentioned, as well as the three corresponding Middlemen, mercantile, industrial, monopolistic. In fact they form now three main co-existent classes of Society, and constitute in themselves a process which reveals the Psychosis—the latter again breaking up into many subordinate movements. Democracy, with its manyness, must be monarchy also, though not monarchy; democratic Society, with its multitu-

dinous units of Will, must be always passing into monopoly of some kind, which need not be hurtful to freedom, though it certainly may become so. Accordingly we shall now look at the Social Whole evolving itself through the willed Product, which development has not merely taken place in the past, but is going on continuously, with all its elements present, both simple and complex.

I. THE SINGLE-WILLED PRODUCT. In the present sphere we are to consider the single Will producing the single Product. Each is a unit; the Will is individual (Ego) and the Product is also individual (Thing). This is in contrast to the many-willed Product, which has in its production a plurality of Wills. Three men catching fish with hook and line in a free stream have, as a result of their labor, each a single-willed Product; but the same men catching fish in common with a drag-net, call forth a many-willed Product.

But the one Will with its Product is brought into contact and association with another Will and its Product, whereby the primitive social process begins. They exchange their Products, and thus show a common Will in their mutual recognition of each other's Product. As the representative and the realization of this common Will the middleman as trader or merchant appears, who is the mediator between the two single Wills—producer and consumer—he being the third single Will. Such is the general sweep of

this sphere, which we shall now carry out in a little more detail.

1. *The one Will and its Product.* The earliest and most immediate form of the single-willed Product is seen in the act of seizing, possessing and consuming the external object. Such an act belongs to the living organism, and every animal performs it in one way or other. It is confined to the individual body, which thus manifests immediate want and immediate gratification. Yet here we may observe the social cycle implicit, involved in nature, the primal potentiality of Society in the animal organism.

(1) There is the first exertion of the Will in seizing the thing, being impelled by desire. This is the crude form and original of labor, which will continue to seize and transform the thing. Still we must remember that the Will has to externalize itself in order to be Will; the Ego cannot be itself unless it divides within and utters itself; such an utterance takes form in the external Thing. (2) This external Thing is primarily will-less, a mere physical object. But through seizure it is filled with a Will, it becomes personal (though not a Person); it is Property, the Ego's own, in the first crude stage of mere possession, not yet confirmed by the recognition of others. (3) This external Thing is internalized, completing the cycle in-gratification, or consumption. It thus goes back into the organism,

which was the possibility of the first activity of the Will in seizing the Thing. In such fashion the first exertion, going forth into the willed Product, has returned and produced itself.

The individual Will must utter itself in the willed Product, in order to be Will, and rise to Ego, Person. Also the external Thing of Nature finds its true reality and destiny in becoming the willed Product in order to rise to Property. The previous organic cycle of the one Will is the unborn social process whose whole striving and end is to be born, to pass from potentiality to reality.

But the object external to this one Will is not only a thing, but another Will, a Person. So next we have to consider such duplication of Wills with their interaction. Really in the Thing possessed my Will has become objective; the next step is to separate and to recognize the objective Will which is distinct from mine and also externalized in the Thing.

2. *The two Wills exchanging Products.* Each is the single Will with the single-willed Product. Both are brought together, the two Egos, the two boys, each with his ball; each covets the other's possession. Thus follows the exchange of willed Products—a very important act in social development. For in such exchange there is the recognition by each of the other's Will in the Thing, whereby we rise to a higher stage of Property. Not only do I now possess my object

through immediate seizure, through my own Will, but also through another's Will, since he wills to give me his object for mine. So the violence of Nature has begun to cease, and a social Will has at least put forth a bud. But the two Wills do not come into complete agreement without a process.

(1) The immediate exchange of single-willed Products is known as Barter, or "swapping." In this act there is an implicit recognition of each by the other; each unconsciously acknowledges the other's right to the Thing. Both are producers, both consumers; but each consumes or uses the other's Product. Thus there is an underlying unity of the two Wills, which have formed together a small Society in the simple act of Barter. (2) But the process does not generally complete itself without a struggle. The individual Will asserts itself against this unity, against even this little social act of primitive exchange, and seizes the other's object immediately. So we have the negation of Barter, which is Plunder; the consumer will not produce, but takes the willed Product, and thus destroys Will through his Will. The outcome must be that his deed has to be returned to him, his Will to destroy Will must be given back to him, and thus be itself destroyed. Such is the stage of primitive social conflict which ends in putting down the negative Will through some



kind of punishment. (3) The positive result of such conflict is the recognition of one Will by the other in its Product, which recognition is not the first implicit recognition of Barter, but is explicit, and is expressed in custom or primitive law. Now we have Property in its third stage, the first being the immediate exertion of the Will in the Product, the second being the implicit recognition of that Will in Barter; this third stage shows Property consciously recognized, or the willed Product acknowledged by the Will of the other, and perchance directly secured by the latter's help.

The process of the two Wills has started numerous social elements into their first early life. Right, Law, a remote hint of the State with its justices lie here imbedded but sprouting. Wealth, Value, reward for Labor may be seen peeping forth; also a moral training has begun in the suppression of the immediate desire to seize what you want, since the object belongs to another. Especially the Social Whole has evolved out of a purely internal organic process in the one individual into an external movement between two Wills, both of which have recognized their unity and have subordinated themselves to the same, thus acknowledging a power over themselves which is really institutional, since through it both Wills are made free in their activity, indeed are willing each other's Free Will. For when

the one recognizes the other in the willed Product, and gives validity to such recognition through exchange, the act is institutional; the two Wills are becoming socialized, each through the other, and have begun to act and to live in a third element, the social.

Now this third element called for by the two Wills, is next to be represented in a third person or a third Will, which, so to speak, takes its place between the two previous Wills and mediates them through their Products.

3. *The Third Will as Middleman.* In the previous stage the two producers were still separated, perchance were in opposition; the one does not want the other's product in exchange for his own. The consumer and the producer are divided by space, time, different needs and many other causes; thus the willed Product is left idle, and exertion finds not its recompense. The result is the appearance of the third person, the middleman, the mediator mediating anew the dualism between producer and consumer. Thus arises the trader by profession, the merchant who will call forth a new class by performing a new function among men. He is the first real embodiment of the coming Social Whole, a visible personification of it, a person now functioning the Social Institution in its incipient form. But here too it becomes necessary to note with care the process.

(1) 'The first form in which the middleman appears in relation to the two other Wills, which we may call the producer and the consumer, is still that of Barter, or the immediate exchange of Products. The middleman is also a producer like the two others, one of whom, we may suppose, does not want the Product of the other, and so there is no exchange. But the middleman now steps in and exchanges his Product which is wanted by the first man for one which he himself does not want for consumption, well knowing that he can exchange with the second man whose Product he does want for consumption. So through him and his Product all three are satisfied by mutual exchange. But note the difference between this middleman and the two others; he is the one who has knowledge — knowledge of the wants and of what will satisfy the wants; in other words, he knows the supply and the demand, and also what will bring them together. The intelligence of the merchant is his, even in the primitive form of the barterer or "swapper;" or possibly instinct we should call it, the instinct of the trader, which often appears in the small boy.

(2) The one willed Product in exchange becomes many willed Products in exchange; the middleman makes himself a universal medium of exchange for his neighborhood; he has a store, has capital, has profit. Still it is an exchange

of willed Products. But the middlemen also are multiplied as well as their articles of exchange, thus arise competition, division of labor, in general the market, which includes them all, and shows the diversified trade-world, to which each individual brings what he produces and receives what he needs in return. Thus his Will is made valid not simply through himself but through others, many or perchance all others.

But limitations to this exchange of articles have appeared. In the first case the middleman as barterer cannot mediate his two men, if neither of them wants the article of the other. That is, one of them must desire the article of the other, if the middleman is to effect the exchange. Then the middleman may want the article which the producer brings, but may not have the article which the latter wants. Hence the call for a universal article of exchange, and it is forthcoming.

(3) This is money, in which the middleman has, so to speak, become the middle thing, which mediates all things. Money is the willed Product which is exchanged for any willed Product whatever. Every man possessing money is his own middleman, and commands every willed Product in exchange. It is, therefore, what all men want, being just that want which frees from all want. It is the universal willed Product, all things are convertible into it and it into all things. Money

confers freedom on the one hand, and power on the other, which power can become tyranny. Hence some social reformers have sought to abolish it, but it is an inherent evolution of the Social Whole.

In the process of the Three Wills just considered, the middleman in a way has been converted into money. His act of mediation is now performed by a willed Product which may be in the hands of every man. The middleman's Will is thus objectified, put into an object. Still the merchant is not lost to the Social Whole, though he be no longer the barterer. He too employs the universal medium of exchange, of himself he converts himself into money.

Moreover in money the single-willed Product has completed its movement. At the start the single-willed Product was purely individual, but now it has become universal through the social process which has just been set forth. Money is a kind of pawn, and the Social Whole a kind of pawn-broker's shop, to which the pawn is brought and exchanged. Properly money is the middleman's Product as single-willed, which single-willed Product must possess his peculiar power of exchange, as against all other single-willed Products. Or we may say, somewhat awkwardly perhaps, that the particular single-willed Product (some article), must be transformed into the universal single-willed Product (money), which

in its turn is transformed back into a particular single-willed Product (another article). It will thus be seen that the single-willed Product in itself goes through the social process by means of money, is socialized, and therein completes its cycle. Every piece of money that we handle has in it just this complete social process, and this is what makes it money. The individual, receiving a coin for his service and passing it for another service, is making it live its life. The movement is the single-willed Product, first as particular, then as universal, then back to the particular.

Thus the single-willed Product has unfolded the mercantile Person (merchant) and the mercantile Thing (money); one is subject, the other is object, one internal, the other external. But both exist for social mediation; each has this social process and is a medium of exchange. Thus the social Whole in the present sphere has its own inner and outer mediator, its own middle-man and middle-thing for functioning itself.

In the history of Political Economy the Mercantilists (Colbert) thought that money as such was the source of wealth. The Physiocrats held that land was the source of wealth (Quesnay). Adam Smith in general took labor (the willed Product) to be the source of wealth, hence he was the prophet of modern productive industry.

The single-willed Product, when the dominant social fact, has its home specially in the Village

Community, which has for the most part three classes of producers — users of the soil (agriculturists and shepherds), artisans, and tradesmen. This simple village life will persist underneath the more complex social forms hereafter unfolded.

The middleman adds to the single-willed Product a new Will, namely his own, which gives an increased value to the article which has passed through his hands. Thus we have really a double-willed Product, or perchance a many-willed Product — wherewith we have passed to a new branch of our subject.

II. THE MANY-WILLED PRODUCT. — Many Wills now enter into one Product, each contributing its effort. In case of the single-willed Product just considered, one Will entered into one Product, or, possibly, into many separate Products. Previously multiplicity might lie in the things produced; now it lies in the Wills producing, while the Product is one. Thus we reach the sphere of separation in the willed Product, this separation being through the causative energy, the Will.

The present fact will be found to introduce very important elements into the Social Whole. As the latter is actualized Will whose function is to make valid the individual Will, giving to the same the just reward of effort, it comes upon new conditions and new difficulties in the present sphere. For instance, how is Society to ascertain the just

share of the laborer in a vast complicated Product, not only of many Wills, but of many kinds of Wills? Here distinctively the social question comes up, and the social conflict between labor and capital, as it is popularly called. Thus the many-willed Product will have its distinct place and process in the development of the Social Order.

Indeed the many-willed Product is specially the social Product, being the combined work of many associated Wills. The single-willed Product is individual and remains so throughout its process, though the Wills associate externally and exchange their individual Products. But now the association is not in the exchange but in the production itself of the object; thus each Will becomes intertwined and commingled with other Wills, all being bound fast, and as it were imprisoned in their common Product. Here, then, will arise supremely the realm of conflict between these Wills — the conflict over their respective shares.

We saw the commercial middleman evolved out of the socializing process of the single-willed Product. But when the middleman has taken the single-willed Product, and therein added his Will or effort, it is no longer single-willed, for two or more Wills have entered into its present status. Thus we pass to the many-willed Product. But this too is subjected to a socializing



process, and will evolve a new middleman, namely, the industrial one, who is the culmination and conclusion of the many-willed Product. This process, going through its psychical movement (for it is Will, Ego) is what we are now to consider.

The first and most immediate stage of the many-willed Product is that it is all of one kind essentially, hence divisible and measurable quantitatively according to the participating Wills. This we shall call *the homogeneous many-willed Product*. But soon we shall find entering such a Product qualitative differences, not mathematically measurable, such as skill and other qualities of the workman, and finally capital in some form. Thus arises *the heterogeneous many-willed Product*, out of which is born the grand struggle between labor and capital. Finally this struggle will be harmonized, at least for a time, by the new middleman who is called forth by it, and we shall see *the heterogeneous many-willed Product mediated*, whose mediator is just the middleman already mentioned.

Such is the process of what we here call the many-willed Product, inasmuch as we seek to carry it back always to its psychical fountain-head in the Ego as Will.

1. *The homogeneous many-willed Product*. This is the simple form of the many-willed Product, in which several Wills co-operate in pro-

ducing some result or object. Now these Wills are supposed to be homogeneous, all of a kind, and to labor equally. What they produce will be also homogeneous, capable of a simple quantitative measurement and division.

Let three men fish in a free stream with a seine which has been given them. The product of their effort can be divided into three shares, each man taking a share. Not only the Wills of the different men are homogeneous, but the labor is so too, there being no difference in skill. Here, then, labor, even of a many-willed Product gets its own with mathematic exactness, and we see the primal state of social simplicity, which will remain the laborer's ideal. The socialist will seek to get back to this social Paradise in which the workman is to receive the measure equivalent of his effort. The bounty of Nature (the free stream for fishing) and the seine (the means of production) are to be restored to him if they are ever taken away. The many-willed Product is thus homogeneous and measurable.

Accordingly the simple Product of many Wills shows the following stages: (1) The common labor of all, the co-operation of homogeneous Wills produces it, and gives to it its essential character. (2) Hence comes its divisibility according to the number of Wills concerned in production, each Will getting its share in proportion to its effort. (3) Each Will gets its share

through all, through the Social Whole, whose act is this division and assignment of shares. Society in its simplicity secures this quantitative division of products, the laborers being all equal as to Will, and measured by a common standard.

Now the result is that the Product assigned is a realized possession of each Will, being so acknowledged by all three persons co-operating. So labor ends in Property just by the preceding process, which first shows the common effort, then the division by which the common Product is individualized, finally the recognition of each portion by all. The Will, living and active before, is now realized, inactive, dead in the thing; in this condition, it is taken up by a new Will (say the dealer or merchant), who gives his effort to the Product, and revivifies it, thereby making it the Product of different kinds of Wills, the living and the dead, or the active and inactive Wills.

2. *The heterogeneous many-willed Product.* The Product now takes character from the two kinds of Wills producing it and becomes heterogeneous. Thus the great twofold separative principle enters production and calls forth the chief conflicts of the Social System. The many-willed Product is no longer homogeneous, simply quantitative in its difference, but a far deeper, a qualitative difference has been projected into the object by the two Wills, the producing and the produced,

the active and the passive, the personal and the impersonal (as thing), the present and the past Will. In other words Labor and Capital, quiescent and implicit in the homogeneous Product, now become explicit.

We have already noted in the preceding process how personal effort realizing itself becomes an impersonal possession or Property, how Labor through its own inherent nature goes over into a Product which becomes Capital, which is, so to speak, the dead hand in most living operations of the business world. But the homogeneous Product in the instance before cited is usually heterogencous. The owner of the seine (in the foregoing illustration) is likely to be the fourth partner, the inactive one, along with the three fishermen, the active partners, who must also assign to him his share. But how great a share? What common standard can be found for measuring the active and the inactive Will? And further, the stream or the fish-pond may be the property of still another person, who also becomes an inactive partner, as the owner of the original product of Nature. Thus difference enters on both sides: difference in Capital, which may be the transformed implement (the seine) or the transformed bounty of Nature (the stream); difference also in the active Wills as to skill and strength. So on the one side Capital separates into Rent for the natural

product, and Interest on the value of the transformed product, which is here the tool; on the other side Labor calls forth a difference in reward, such as Wages and Profits. Thus the heterogeneous Product, having division in its very being, reproduces this division indefinitely; the fundamental one, however, is the division into Labor and Capital, the living and the dead hand, the personal and the impersonal factor in production.

Still the two are but sides of one whole, stages of one complete process. Capital gives to Labor its opportunity, its implement, being itself an implement; on the other hand Labor gives to Capital its life, revivifies its dead or passive Will, and makes the same produce again. Without Capital Labor would have to begin over again from the very start, it would have to make its seine before it could catch the fish. Yet it must have fish or other food (which is Capital) before it can even make the seine. Unless the individual Will could realize itself in Property or Capital, and thus have the beginning for a new activity, the human being would have to consume immediately what he produces, and so would never rise beyond the stage of Nature, or of the single-willed Product in its crudest form. Man would have to seize the nut or berry, and devour it in order to get the physical power to seize another nut or berry. But in the developed Social

Whole, the thing must be given before it can be produced, man must eat his dinner before he can earn his dinner, so much bread the plowman must have before he can sow the wheat for his loaf. All this is merely saying that he must have Capital in order to labor. Thus the process of Labor is to unfold into its own presupposition; that which it produces becomes that which produces it, and so we behold it in its process.

This heterogeneous element in production is what socialism seeks to eliminate. The dead hand — Capital — is somehow to be lopped off, as well as its exploiter, the middleman. Let every individual have only the living hand of labor, but no property of his own. From the Social Whole he is to receive his share measured out according to the quantity of his labor, which is or is to be made homogeneous. The scheme of socialism is, therefore, to reduce the heterogeneous many-willed Product into a homogeneous one, by leveling down all distinctions of Will to one kind, thus making such Product easily divisible and distributable. Hence the oft-noticed tendency of socialism is to obliterate all special skill or superiority or the desire for excellence, as this disturbs the homogeneity of labor, or, as the socialists say, the equality of man.

The great transition from artisanship to industrialism, or from individual production to social, lies in the social movement from the single-willed

Product to the many-willed heterogeneous Product. Almost any utensil before us may be both, a bucket, for instance, or even a watch. This last stage, also, will have its process.

(1) There is first the immediate unity of the two kinds of Will when the laborer and the capitalist are one and the same person, as is often the case. The farmer who cultivates his own acres, and uses his own implements has in an undivided lump wages and rent and also interest; so has the small mechanic who owns his shop in the village. The product is, however, heterogeneous, yet implicitly so; it has in itself the different kinds of Wills, though not divided and separately demanding tribute. This is the independent workman, as near as he can be, in the Social Whole. Such is usually deemed to be his happiest condition.

But let him once rent a piece of land or borrow some money for improvements; he finds that he has to pay wages to a dead hand, which indeed co-operates with him if he energizes it, but which demands its toll with unflinching regularity. When the product of his effort comes in, it divides, one part staying with him and the other part leaving him forever in the form of rent or interest or both. Here then we must consider a new phase of the process.

(2) This is manifestly the separative stage of the heterogeneous Product, the main line of cleav-

age being the two different kinds of Wills which have entered into its composition. Labor and Capital have openly separated, their division has become explicit, real; even though they co-operate in bringing forth the Product, they at once tear it asunder, each taking a share and going away with it. Labor is active, the producing Will; Capital is stored up, the produced Will; the latter is vitalized by the former; the former is endowed with twofold or perchance tenfold power by the latter. Which is the more important of the two? What share of the Product ought each to have? A question not easy to settle especially when left to the parties interested. Inevitably there will be conflict.

One fact seems pretty well established: with the advance of Society the value of the dead Will continually diminishes, as shown by the decreasing rate of interest, while the value of the living Will (the worth of man) is continually rising, as shown by the general increase of wages amid all fluctuations. Yet Labor is of various kinds, hence the difference must enter it, too.

(3) Labor, accordingly, separates itself also into two main sorts, yet just through this separation it is joined in a new union with Capital. Going to a farm we find two men at work in the field, performing the same kind of labor; one is "the hired hand," the other is the owner of the land and of the implements of husbandry; the one



is purely laborer, the other is laborer and capitalist, who thus unites in himself the extremes, Labor and Capital. A new kind of division of the Product results, the division into Wages and Profits, the latter being some combination of Wages, Rent and Interest. Such is the difference between the two laborers.

Yet we must notice that this laboring employer of Labor, by virtue of his double position, is a mediator between Labor and Capital, which otherwise could hardly come together in the present instance. So Labor and Capital, previously united immediately in one man, are now also mediately united through him, and the separation for the time being is harmonized. The living "hired hand" clasps through him the "dead hand," and both are made to co-operate in production with little or no jar usually.

Thus the heterogeneous many-willed Product has taken its first and easiest course, its two different Wills being mediated by a third Will which shares in both, which is both laborer and capitalist. Evidently such a person is a most important development, bearing in himself the two opposing principles, Labor and Capital, and also their reconciliation. So important is such a person that he cannot stop in his development; he must hear the call to mediate not one or two, but many laborers, with Capital, which also comes to him and begs for employment.

But with such an evolution he is changed in character, he can no longer be a "hand" with other "hands," he has to drop the physical side of Labor, and thus sever his direct bond of connection with the laborer. All his time and effort are taken up with his special gift, which has shown itself to lie in his mediatorial function between Labor and Capital. He is no longer the laborer, but the employer of Labor; no longer the capitalist (or he need not be), but the manager of Capital; then both Labor and Capital he directs to their common end, to the exploitation of great enterprises. This is the new man who has been evolved by Society, and who must next be looked at in his place.

3. *The heterogeneous many-willed Product mediated.* This mediation is accomplished by the new middleman, whom we shall call the industrial middleman, though he has a variety of names corresponding to his varied relations. The Product has in it a society of Wills which have to be organized and socialized in order to make that Product; raw material, food and machinery must be furnished them, all of which is the part of Capital; then the Product must be sold in the market. What is the power first concentrating in itself and then directing these three elements which are often recalcitrant? This is the industrial middleman, who has to have his hand on three markets at the same time—the labor-

market, the money-market (Bank or Capital), and the product-market. It is manifest that his situation has in it many possibilities of conflict; these united elements are sure to fall asunder and to assail one another and him also.

Already we have seen the many-willed Product calling up the struggle between Labor and Capital, two of the preceding elements. But these two opposing forms of Will have now been mediated by a new Will distinct from both, yet controlling both. Here rises to view the great administrator, the organizer of mighty undertakings which require vast Labor and Capital working in conjunction. Directive power he must have in a supreme degree, uniting the two most colossal yet antagonistic agencies of Society, and driving them like a span of refractory horses to the goal of his enterprise. At his highest he is the generalissimo of the modern industrial army, the man of brain who obtains enormous rewards for his service. In lower grades he is the contractor, the entrepreneur, the "boss," whose training-time is usually the period when he labored with his laborers, yet hired them, too, on his own account. Thus he rises from the ranks on one side, yet he is a capitalist on the other, both elements being united in him immediately. His next step is he frees himself from both, turning and commanding both. Thus he stands forth a most important figure

in the modern movement of the Social Whole.

It was said that he is the mediator between Labor and Capital, and he is; still, the old conflict is bound to break out under his regime in a new and even more intense form. This industrial middleman, rising out of Labor and knowing it in all its limitations, will be sure to take advantage of his knowledge. In fact just that is the reason why he is able to rise; he possesses talent, brain-power, administrative ability, which is wanting to the rank and file of the vast army of laborers, who feel the separation and possibly the wrong, and open the new conflict. Really, this is a struggle between Brain and Brawn, very old indeed (see Sophocles' *Ajax* and Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*), in which conflict Brawn is pretty sure to be worsted, and if it be not worsted, it is worse off than if worsted.

So the industrial middleman will assert himself, as he is just the mediating principle without which labor is laborless and money is moneyless. Still in this process of mediating the Product, both sides will learn a good deal, they must come to a new consciousness of their position in the Social Whole.

The process of the mediated Product of many Wills — the laborer on the one side, the capitalist on the other, and between them the industrial

middleman — we may now glance at it in its separate stages.

(1) At first the many Wills work together in harmony for production. The vast organism of a manufacturing establishment has its mass of laborers, its directive Will, and its Capital. All three kinds of Wills are united in the effort of transforming a given material into the Product which we have called mediated, since its commanding factor is the industrial middleman, whose Will has joined, vitalized and directed the two extremes, Labor and Capital, at the same time looking out for the market of the Product. But Capital retires more and more into the background, in fact, it becomes less and less valuable (judged by the diminishing rate of interest), while the industrial middleman becomes more and more valuable (judged by the increasing rate of profits). What he can take from wages is his, so there begins the struggle between the two living Wills, the wage-laborer and the industrial middleman.

(2) This is the strongest, deepest, most abiding conflict of the present stage of industrial Society, which may be stated as the struggle between the wage-laborer and the industrial middleman, the one of whom has muscle chiefly though directed with more or less acquired skill, the other of whom must have brain, the original and originating power, though this is given in differ-

ent degrees. So we witness a tendency in Society to reduce the wage-laborer to the bare necessities of existence, to what will enable him to reproduce his day's toil for his taskmaster. This fact has been enforced with great energy by Marx and his school, though in a one-sided way, and, in our opinion, with one-sided deductions.

The result is an enormous accumulation of Wealth accompanied by hopeless Poverty, an ever-increasing luxury alongside of social misery. Thus arises something more than a struggle for supremacy, it is a struggle for life or rather for an improvement in life which deepens into a struggle over Society itself. Such is the destructive dualism which the social process has evolved out of itself, but whose further development belongs in a different connection.

The matter now to be noted is that each side has been in a training-school, and that both through conflict have learned something about each and all.

(3) The total Social Order gets involved in the conflict between the wage-earner and the industrial middleman, and each side comes to recognize the fact. Thereby it has found out its place and function in the Social Order. This mutual recognition takes place between Labor and Capital, or between the laboring multitude and their mediator, both of whom must recognize themselves as belonging to the Social Whole. We have already

seen that Property could attain its validity and perform its function only through the mutual recognition of the possessor and the purchaser; so now Society itself can attain its purpose and perform its function only through the mutual recognition of the two different Wills, Labor and Capital, including their mediator who is specially, to represent and recognize the Social Whole, which thereby enters every Product.

But this Product is clearly a new one, or at least is to be seen from a new point of view; it is not the many-willed Product, but the all-willed Product, with which fact we have made a transition out of the present into a new sphere.

Looking back a moment we find that the Social Whole thus far has turned on the willed Product, the object into which man puts his Will. The single-willed Product has evolved the mercantile middleman, who mediates producer and consumer of such Products at first, and, finally, of all Products. The many-willed Product has evolved the industrial middleman, who mediates Labor and Capital and directs them to the production of the many-willed Product which is no longer simply homogeneous, but heterogeneous, and then mediated.

Moreover, classes of Society have appeared corresponding to these elements. The single-willed Product calls forth the agriculturist, the artisan, the tradesman or merchant; the many-

willed Product in addition creates an industrial class, which involves production of raw material (mining, etc.), the transformation of such material (manufacturing), and the transportation of matter (railroad), and the transmission of thought (telegraph, etc.).

Through these co-operating social instrumentalities, production becomes not merely single-willed or many-willed, but all-willed, every Product being linked into the total social chain more or less directly.

The Social Individual frees himself from Nature's necessity through the Social Whole. We have already traced how man produces and reproduces this Social Whole by his activity; how his productive genius keeps transforming it by new inventions which wrest fresh spheres of control from Nature; how not merely his physical Wants, but his deepest Want, namely, his spiritual need of transcending limits, is here satisfied. Thus the aspiration for freedom, the mightiest and most enduring in the human heart, finds its realization in one direction by means of the Social Whole.

Man himself is primarily a natural product which has to be socialized ere he can be free, that is, institutionally free. His physical Wants are in one sense animal Wants, yet they have in them the ideal propelling end, which drives him to construct an institution for their gratification.



Hence he makes an all-willed Product, truly the universal Product, made for all and by all, so that even through the most individual element in man, namely, his needs and wishes, he is brought to live an universal life, and to will the Free-Will of all. Such is the side of freedom in the Social Whole.

That there is another side, a deeply negative one, to this social movement need only be here indicated, as it will be specially developed later. Man, though freed from the external might of Nature through the Social Whole, may find a new tyrant enslaving him just in this Social Whole. The great object of the modern institutional World, especially of the modern State, is to compel Society to perform its true function, which is to secure within its sphere of action the freedom of the Social Individual.

Let us trace the career of the middleman in the preceding movement, ere he passes into the following stage where he is to be a leading character. At first he is laborer, owner (capitalist) and middleman for himself — all in one (the village artisan or small farmer who does his own work). Then he is laborer and owner, and also middleman for another, his hired man; thus the middleman has become partially explicit. Thirdly, he becomes middleman completely, mediating Labor on one side, Capital on the other, and also marketing their Product.

But this heterogeneous many-willed Product, though now mediated, has fermenting within it the most powerful explosive elements of the modern world. Production with its concentration, division of labor, and finally with its machinery, gorges the market beyond all power of consumption; the middlemen fall into furious competition with one another, which is accompanied by all sorts of economic throat-cutting, and throws the entire Social Body into convulsions. Thus it is found that Production involves all Society, is at bottom an all-willed act.

III. THE ALL-WILLED PRODUCT. — We are now to unfold fully the fact that what the producer makes is not simply a one-willed Product, though it be this, too; not simply a many-willed Product, though it be this, too; but, ultimately, an all-willed Product. The universal Product and the Product in its universality we are called on to consider, and also their interaction; that is, we must now take into view the Social Individual, the Social Whole, and their process with its mediation.

At the start, man is an all-willed Product, and thereby becomes a member of the Social Order, a Social Individual. He finds that all he gets he has to get through the Social Whole, though at first he be quite unconscious of the fact. So we may say the Social Whole produces him, determines him, though in doing so it has a struggle

with another determinant, namely, Nature. On the other hand, man produces, or, rather, reproduces the Social Whole; he must determine his determinant, reproduce through his own activity his reproducer. His Wants invoke the Social Whole for satisfaction, his activity must aid in preserving and re-creating that Social Whole. Finally, as the Social Individual and the Social Whole engender or inherit a conflict, there rises a mediating third principle, which we shall likewise have to consider an all-willed Product.

Thus we witness in the present sphere three all-willed Products, or three forms which have this common characteristic, though in other respects they be quite different. They are the subjective all-willed Product, the social Individual; the objective all-willed Product, the Social Whole; and the third all-willed Product, the new middleman. The first unfolds through the second into the third; then all three are in a process with each other.

The aim of the total movement is toward freedom, toward the liberation of man from the domination of Nature pure and simple. As a mere physical being he is subject to an outer world ruling him through his Wants; that outer world he must transform, converting it into an implement of freedom, whereby it becomes a social world, through which his Wants are satisfied. Yet this social world can become tyrannical

also, as we shall see in the course of the following development.

The industrial middleman of the last stage is now seen vanishing into the social or all-willed middleman, who is, however, one-willed also, having one-man power; monocratic we may call him. He has been generated by the Social Whole in order to mediate the conflicts which have sprung up in the domain and under the rule of the industrial middleman, who is now reduced to the ranks of the wage-earners, though usually he is given a high salary as manager or representative of the new universal middleman (monocratic), either in the name of an individual or a company or both. Thus the simple Product of the laborer or workman is becoming organically all-willed, being now taken into and manipulated by the organized Social Whole, or a large part thereof. Such is the new phenomenal birth of the time, the monopolist with his trust or combination, advancing well toward the complete socialization of all Industry, with a still vaster outlook into the future.

The following development will be considered in its three stages: first, the all-willed Product as Social Individual; second, the all-willed Product as Social Whole; third, the all-willed Product as Social Middleman. The latter is himself a Product, and all-willed, yet mediating the all-willed Product of labor, or showing that such is

the end toward which social evolution is moving.

1. *The all-willed Product as Social Individual.* That is, the human being is to be recognized as an all-willed Product, he is not merely the child of his parents, but of his age, nation, race, of civilization; it is the Social Order which produces him in everything except his animality. Man is to be first regarded as a Product of the Social Whole immediately and unconsciously; he is born into Society which at once determines him, bringing to him through the parent what may be needful for him physically as well as mentally or morally. The infantile state of dependence lasts longer than that of any other animal; its wants cannot be supplied from Nature directly, but mediately through Society, which gives to the child his education, confirms his property, and renders possible his future career. We may set down some of these matters in order.

(1) His *Wants* are, in part at least, determined by the Social Whole, or transformed by it; he has many Wants which no animal has, and what he has in common with the animal are changed. Artificial Wants are those made by Society or transformed from Nature, they begin with the baby's dress, and continue through life.

(2) His *Will* (effort, activity) is primarily determined by the Social Whole, or is directed by it. As a child he is trained to work, which

means that he must perform a task given by the Social Whole, though this task be assigned first by the parent. In the kindergarden already, the child through play is made to earn what he receives even in the way of food, and it is the Social Order which gives him the kindergarden and other means of education.

(3) His recompense for activity comes through the Social Whole, which furnishes him with food, raiment, and shelter, and possibly much more. Thus it is a kind of Home to him or second mother, who gives him what he needs, but always requires of him his task, his labor.

Thus we may see the Social Whole always at work, quite secretly perhaps, in determining and moulding the individual from his birth. From this point of view man is the all-willed Product; it is the Social Whole which is forming him, the Social Whole being practically the Will of all. In fact this is what has from the beginning socialized the individual, who is otherwise a mere natural Product, which it is the function of Society to transform.

The present is, then, the stage of the determination of the Social Individual; even the button on his coat is made for him by many hands co-operating in the Social Whole. But he in his turn must be one of these co-operating factors; what has determined him he now determines; he separates from himself and projects out of him-

self just that Social Whole which came to him from the outside.

2. *The all-willed Product as the Social Whole.*—This is manifestly the separative or externalizing act of the Ego, and hence is the second stage of the present process. The Social Individual (or Ego) divides from himself that which has produced him socially, and objectifies the same in the Social Institution; through his labor he is perpetually reproducing this Institution as an existent object, which is an all-willed Product, since every Social Individual takes part in reproducing it. All labor, therefore, has in it an institutional element, and, as the effort of the individual Will, is truly ethical.

Such is the fortress which the Social Individual builds to protect himself against the might of external Nature. Truly it is a kind of universal shelter, or home, which, however, must be incessantly renewed. Not only a home, but also a body it is; and still more than a body we must deem it, namely, an Institution. Many close analogies to the human organism Society shows, but the main distinctive point is left out if it be treated in a purely biological way. Similarity there is between the Human Body and the Social Body, but also a decided contrast.

(1) The Social Individual is to furnish to the Social Whole what primarily sustains it, namely his Labor, which is of course his effort, his Will.

Labor is the universal food of the Social Body. The Products of every individual Will have to pass through it in order to be socialized, and it is itself the Product of all these Wills — just that Product whose function is to give back to each Will its own and in the form which it desires. Wherein we recognize again the thought of Will actualized, or the Institution.

Illustrating this thought by analogy we can say that the laborer (or the Social Individual) has to satisfy not merely his own single Body but the universal Body, which must be active before his individual Wants can be satisfied. So not merely his own Body but the universal Body, having Want, must have food; the action is reciprocal, each is satisfied through the other. Each is a Product, yea, an all-willed Product, though in quite opposite ways. The Social Individual is an all-willed Product through the Social Institution; the Social Institution is an all-willed Product through the Social Individual, though he produces at first a single-willed Product. For all individual workers who make such Products must likewise be mediated by the Social Whole.

When it comes to the many-willed Product, at once a new process begins. When many Wills (or Persons) are united in producing the separate parts of the article which is to be produced, the power of production is increased greatly, which power is still further increased by incoming ma-



chinery. This vast increment of production will place new duties upon the industrial middleman who has to market all these commodities; from this fact will arise a new movement in the ranks of the middlemen themselves, whereof something will be unfolded later in its proper place.

Just now, however, we wish to set forth, first, that all are to give their *individual* labor to the Social Whole, and be mediated socially by it, thus making it an all-willed Product; secondly, that all are to give their *associated* labor to the Social Whole, and be mediated socially by it, thus making it an all-willed Product. Individual labor brings forth the object which we have called single-willed; but associated labor of many Wills in the object produced is what we are next to consider, as it introduces a new division in addition to the former division into Labor and Capital.

(2) This is the division of Labor. The Social Individual specializes himself in production, he creates new demands or new Wants by his inventions which are in some form a fresh conquest of Nature, and hence a further liberation. The invention, for instance, of the reaping-machine, was an overcoming of a great physical resistance, and thereby created a new Want, which, however, set aside or superannuated many former Wants connected with harvesting. That is, the farmer now needs a reaping-machine, but needs no longer

a sickle or a raker and binder, or a small army of harvesters, in order to put up his crop. Note the significant fact that in language the words *reaper*, *raker*, *binder*, pass from the man to the machine.

The specialization of Labor is inherent in the Ego as Will, whose psychical process is to divide within itself and then transcend its division. Hence Labor becomes more effective in quantity and quality in proportion as it specializes itself. Finally, the Social Individual produces the machine to take his place and do his work; he turns the powers of Nature against Nature, and subjects her to himself, he thereby getting the mastery.

Thus the Social Individual puts the division of Labor into the Social Whole (of which it becomes an important element), by means of the heterogeneous many-willed Product, which is next to be willed not simply by many but by all. That is, the Social Whole is an all-willed Product now through the associated labor of all in the manufactured Product, which thereby becomes the image or rather the embodied form of the Social Whole, the latter being also a Product of the division of labor, willing and enforcing the same through its mediation.

With this last word appears a new factor, namely the middleman who performs the mediating act of the Social Whole, of which he is, therefore, an integral element. Already we have

seen him generated in the process of the many-willed Product as the industrial middleman, in which he was the mediating principle between Labor, Capital, and Market. The Social Whole must, therefore, include him in the movement of itself as an all-willed Product. Moreover he is the one who harmonizes the inherent division and conflict which lie naturally in the division of Labor, employing it for increased production and giving to it its purpose in the development of the Social Whole, as well as looking out for the increased distribution of the increased production.

(3) Accordingly the all-willed Product as the Social Whole has in itself the mediation of the foregoing division of Labor in production, the mediation of the Wills co-operating in the manufactured Product or any other kind of Product, which mediation is the work or the Product of the industrial middleman, who functions herein the Social Whole. Now this mediating Will (of the middleman) also produces, its Product being just this mediation of the single-willed and many-willed Products before mentioned, making them over into all-willed or truly social Products.

In such fashion the many-willed heterogeneous Product, made by a number of associated Wills with division of Labor, is elevated into an all-willed Product through the Social Whole represented and functioned by the industrial middleman. Thus it is *socialized*, becoming all-willed through

Society which is itself an all-willed Product whose end is to make the single-willed and the many-willed Product all-willed. Each individual Will in its tiniest productive effort is thus confirmed by the Social Will, and mediated through it by its mediating Will, namely the middleman. The latter, in developing a market for increased production, must rely on increased consumption.

The Social Individual has a tendency to universalize himself in consumption, whereas he specializes himself in production. He meets the new supply with the new demand, for the new supply furnishes him with some fresh power over Nature. Hence his desire for freedom leads him to look after the new device or invention, at least that is the spirit in countries which are new and free. Enormous productivity in inventions results from the ready consumption of those articles which are a genuine advance towards freedom. It should never be forgotten, however, that as we become more independent of Nature through machinery, we are becoming more dependent on the Social Whole, so that there is still dependence.

Less and less is the tendency for individual man to produce what he consumes, as this is always increasing in variety and complexity. In fact, the circle of his production is becoming narrower, while the circle of his consumption is widening, whereby his dependence on the Social Whole is more complete. Thus the Social In-

dividual is halved by the Social Whole into two opposite tendencies: more special in his work or vocation, more universal in his wants and their satisfaction. Both sides, however divergent, are united by the Social Whole through its middleman.

Such is the movement toward the absolute socialization of man, in which we may well see the development into a completer freedom. Really it is the social unfolding of the individual which brings about the division of Labor, whose end is always something better, i. e., perfection. The Ego confines its work to the one narrow field and perfects it in excellence and rapidity of production, and perchance in other ways. To be sure there is a drawback to this narrowing life, which the Social Whole must seek to remedy.

The primitive man produces what he needs, and consumes what he produces, for the most part; thus he is a self-sufficient being in contrast to the Social Individual, since he bears in himself quite the total process of the Social Whole. But his destiny is to throw this out of himself, to make it objective, whereby it becomes Will actualized, an Institution, which is the completion and fulfillment of his selfhood.

Recapitulating the movement under the head of *The all-willed Product as the Social Whole*, we can conceive it summarily as follows. First, the individual labor of all (which is their Will) producing the single-willed Product, calls forth

the Social Whole to mediate the same. Second, the collective or social labor of all (which is their Will) producing the many-willed Product calls forth the Social Whole to mediate the same. Third, this Social Whole, mediating the labor of all calls forth the individual mediator, the middleman, who is to function the Social Whole as the all-willed Product which has to make valid socially all products of all Wills.

Such is the result: the Social Whole is an all-willed Product as well as the Social Individual, with whom we started. But at the same time another result has appeared: it is the middleman who is a Social Individual, yet whose function is to perform the function of the Social Whole. Thus he has both elements in him; he is an all-willed Product from both directions, being mediated by the Social Whole which he mediates through and for all. Still he is a single Will.

He too must have his process, which springs from his double, or indeed triple character. This we shall consider next.

3. *The all-willed Product as Social Middleman.* So we shall name him at present, since he is the truly social, that is, universal middleman, and since ideally he is to mediate all society and free it from inner conflict. That such a state of things is not yet realized is, of course, manifest, but the tendency to its realization is everywhere evident in the social movements of to-day.

Here we shall employ another word which seems needful, and which has already been suggested—the word *monocratic*, which in our usage means one-willed, yet through all Wills. It is one-man power, yet mediated by all men. The United States Government is a monocracy, a one-willed Institution, yet likewise an all-willed Institution, a democracy, and each works through and is mediated by the other. A monocracy is different from a monarchy or an autocracy, which has no such mediation through all, or has it imperfectly. Monocracy and Democracy go together and cannot be separated without despotism on one side or chaos on the other. Each must finally be through the other.

Society, or the Industrial Order, is going and must go the same way as the State. It will have its monocratic middleman and is now generating him, at the same time it must make him perform his duty to all. He is essentially one-willed yet he is through and for all Wills, and hence he is called likewise an all-willed Product.

We have just seen the unfolding of two social elements, the Social Individual and the Social Whole as all-willed Products. Moreover, we have likewise seen the Social Whole as an all-willed Product returning and producing the Social Individual, who is no longer simply the person whose wants are determined by and satisfied by the Social Whole. This is a new Social Individ-

ual, the one who represents the Social Whole in its capacity of supplying the wants of the first or immediate Social Individual. Him we have already called the middleman, and have seen him arising in the process of social development, as mercantile and as industrial, when we were considering the single-willed Product and the many-willed Product. But now he is to appear to us in a new light and in a new development; he is to be seen as universal or as the all-willed Product, culminating in what we have just called the monocratic middleman.

Here we come upon the thought of Monopoly which has in the present and in all times played such an important part in the history of Society. The truth is the middleman is necessarily a monopolist in the beginning and at the end; he within limits sets the price upon the article bought and sold; undoubtedly these limits vary much with the circumstances. When he says to the purchaser, "So much you must pay for this article," he is exercising one-man power in this relation. On the other hand the purchaser may be able to refuse to give the price, or he may not, his wants compelling him.

The fixing of the price by one Will for another Will needing the article is the basic act of all Monopoly and is not necessarily bad. The odious side of Monopoly begins when advantage is taken of the needs of the consumer to extort an unjustly



high price. What constitutes an unjustly high price, is a complicated question; of its existence, however, there can be no doubt, and through it can arise gross social tyranny of one Will over other Wills. Still the primary trade-act must be considered to be monopolistic, and in the nature of the case cannot help being so. This we may, therefore, call Natural Monopoly, which is the psychical beginning of the middleman.

This middleman, as we see by his genesis, is a single Will endowed with the power of the Social Whole which is all-willed in a social sense; he functions the social Totality, which is to receive, transform, and distribute the social product for the satisfaction of social wants. He is a one-willed manufacturer, buyer and seller (*monopolos*), who is socially all-willed; the conjunction of these two elements makes him a monopolist, who can become a benefactor or a despot, socially.

Thus Society evolves by its own inner process the mediating Individual, or middleman, as an all-willed Product, whose function is to perform the functions of the Social Whole. He is the creature of Society, whose object is to keep creating Society in its social movement; he is the Social Individual as produced by and producing the Social Whole; he is the mediating Social Individual for the immediate Social Individual with his products and his wants.

In the present field we can observe the general

process to be as follows: First, from Nature and from the Ego itself will come the primal suggestion of the monocratic middleman or the monopolist. Secondly, the mercantile and especially the industrial middleman, through his own Will transforming the many-willed Product into his own individual property (single-willed again), calls forth many competing Wills as middlemen — Competition, or the separative stage. Thirdly, this new many-willed Product, namely, the Social Whole in its competitive conflict, is brought back to unity by a new middleman (social, universal, monocratic).

(1) We shall first consider Natural Monopoly, which has its psychical starting-point in the middleman who has by Nature his mediating power as distinct from other Social Individuals. The original barterer is *naturally* what he is, having a certain native talent or bent for making himself the mediator of the Social Whole in a primitive state of society. This native ability or inclination for his special work is what primarily selects the middleman and gives him a Natural Monopoly of business power which may make him the master of a sphere small, great or the greatest.

Again, physical Nature places limits which render Monopoly possible, limits of locality, time, and materials. This is, also, Natural Monopoly, springing from Nature who specializes herself in the outer as well as the inner world. On one

side of a small mountain she produces a grape from which is expressed the finest wine in the world; the owner of those few acres has a Natural Monopoly of that wine. The best anthracite coal in the United States is found in a limited portion of Pennsylvania, so that it has formed the basis of a Natural Monopoly. Still we are to note that to seize and exploit such a Natural Monopoly requires the individual with the special talent, which is itself his primal Natural Monopoly. External Nature, however specialized, can only be monopolized by a mental Monopoly fitted for the enterprise.

On the other hand there has probably never yet existed an absolute Monopoly anywhere; all Monopolies have hitherto shown themselves partial, limited, finite. If the price of wheat is forced up by a Monopoly, other grains will be substituted, and thus it is with all necessaries as products. The ordinary wants of man can be satisfied in different ways and by different articles. Of course an absolute Monopoly can be conceived, for instance that of land, which is limited on the globe.

The Social Whole in one phase of its movement has a tendency to break up the one Monopoly into many. As we have seen, it produces the middleman who is to function it; thus it has the power of endowing the individual with its mediating principle. Not only one but many individuals

it can so empower; in this way a new force begins to enter the social field: the struggle of these many middlemen with one another. In such a conjuncture the one will seek to exclude the rest by a higher authority which he invokes, the law.

So we have a new kind of Monopoly, originated and protected by the State. Some of these ought to be, such as patents and copyrights; others ought not. A protective tariff is a legal Monopoly which may be justifiable at one time and not at another. Then comes the counter-stroke: the State through its law assails and breaks down Monopoly as contrary to individual freedom under the name of public interest. Again the Social Whole is left free for the middleman.

Thus we have traced the general process of Monopoly, which starts as the Natural Monopoly of the one middleman, who is then multiplied by the Social Whole into many middlemen for its ends; finally the one middleman again gets control over this Social Whole through the State. As this violates the freedom of the individual as well as the Social Whole, the State will in time abrogate its own law or regulation, leaving the Social Whole and the middleman in free activity with each other.

The middleman being free in his activity, will begin to exploit his side enormously; as industrial, he will increase production through concen-

tration of effort and through division of labor as well as through machinery. The result will be that he will not be able to market what he produces, as production has outrun consumption. Then come the fall of prices and the bitter competition among the middlemen themselves for the market, in which conflict all Society soon gets involved, showing that production is ultimately all-willed, is through all and for all.

(2) Such is the outcome of Competition, in which a number of middlemen seek to perform the function of social mediation for the Social Whole in a branch of business more or less limited. The Social Whole calls forth this multiplicity, and thus divides up the single Monopoly among many middlemen, each of whom tries to be the sole purveyor of the Social Whole in the branch of business indicated. Thus we behold the realm of social struggle, each individual endeavoring to supplant the other.

There is a state of peaceful Competition in which each competitor serves his customers of a certain class or locality, and within these limits he may have a monopoly. But the inherent character of the middleman is to become all-willed and thus to be the complete representative of the Social Whole. Hence Competition is inclined to engender a state of war, fostering an aggressive mood among middlemen, which often means the social destruction of rivals.

Such is the negative side of Competition in which the middleman may annihilate his competitor, but is likely to cripple if not annihilate himself in doing so. The Social Whole begins to evolve a new mediating principle, since the competing middlemen in destroying one another have destroyed social-mediation. Moreover this war involves the laborer and compels the reduction of his wages or his means of living. Thus the whole fabric of Society becomes disordered through the negative power of Competition, mercantile, and specially industrial.

Many efforts have been made to get rid of the evil effects of Competition. Some of these end in moral exhortations to brotherly love and humanity, which are well enough, but are not institutional and hence not coercive. Then come attempts to re-model society entirely, of which socialism is the farthest-reaching example. The Social Whole is invoked to cut up Competition by the roots through taking away its human motive, individual ownership. This, however, to cure one negation, introduces a still deeper negation, that of all society as at present constituted.

But the Social Whole as existent and always working itself out in the world, will evolve its own new middleman to meet the new emergency. Society as the active all-willed Product will call forth the all-willed middleman in correspondence with itself. There will be a return to Monopoly,

but it will be of a new sort, having passed through and mastered its own Negative, namely Competition.

(3) This new middleman, we have already named monocratic (social, universal), and is an evolution out of the previous middleman, who is driven from his monopolistic supremacy by a new monopolist.

The market demands a certain quantity of products, which the given middleman can supply; but other middlemen enter the field and compete with him, taking away his profits and threatening to drive him out of business. As he is the man possessing administrative ability, he seeks to make a new synthesis to meet the emergency.

Knowing or calculating the demand in his sphere of business, he seizes or combines all the sources of supply, he dictates the quantity of the product and the price both of buying and selling. Those who resist his arrangements are crushed by the enormous power of the combination. Thus he destroys competition by a new association of capital. Such is the trust with its manager, springing out of the previous industrial middleman, who combined Labor and Capital in his enterprise, but who left outside of his organization the rising middleman; the latter enters the same field and competes with him for the consumer. Such competition is now mediated.

Thus appears the new middleman, the universal, the monocratic, bearing rule over vast industrial domains. He combines the dissident elements; he unifies the competing enterprises in one or several branches of business; he capitalizes the total investment and issues stock in proportion, with which stock he enters the money market and gets more capital; he also subjects labor to this new order, so that the workmen of a certain locality may be commanded to cease from production, lest the supply may be in excess of the demand.

In such fashion the universal middleman as industrial monarch bids the war of competition cease, even down to the retailer, drawing what capital he may require not directly from the capitalist usually, but from the universal money-market which he will also control. Both the mercantile and the industrial middleman he sways according to his will, and the laborer is wholly determined by the vast social machine.

The social Spirit is now incorporate in the social Monocrat, a new kind of man, not monarch nor aristocrat nor even democrat in the old sense of the term, though he is properly the counterpart of democracy. He is the man in whom Society is at present most deeply interested, being occupied in evolving him, with no small curiosity as to what he is going to do with it and with himself. In him as its middleman the Social Whole



seems destined to find its incarnation according to the present outlook.

The social Monocrat is of course not yet supreme, though moving thitherward. The industrial middleman, as was noted, had to look out for three kinds of Competition: that of the labor-market, that of the product-market, and that of the money-market. Only partially at times could he control any one of these markets; finally they would control him. Many middlemen would compete for labor in a given period, and up would go wages; then they would compete in the selling market of their products, and down would go prices; as to money, in a crisis when they most need it, they often cannot get it at any price. Such a discordant, anarchic, competitive condition of the Social Whole cannot last.

But this new middleman will control all three markets—labor, product and money. He has unified or rather reduced to his sway all the competing middlemen in one branch or probably several cognate branches of business. He controls the product-market by limiting the output, and by getting hold of the means of transportation to the market; he determines the quantity of labor and its reward, closing factories and dismissing workmen at will; he goes back of the Bank and manipulates the Bourse or universal money market by means of his stocks. All this is usually done by a company or its Board of

Directors, who, however, have always a guiding spirit, the one Will, the Monocrat.

Thus the all-willed Product as social Middleman comes back to the one-willed social Product, who is also the supreme Producer. In this process we have returned to the beginning of Positive Society, which was the one Will producing. But the Product is now not simply the material thing but the Social Whole itself as mediated — mediated by its one-willed Product, the Monocrat.

The Social Individual, in the very pursuit of freedom, has called up a master who commands him, confines him, compels him. As he is dependent on the Social Whole for his daily existence, the least trouble or disease in it affects him. If a panic comes, or if there is a scarcity of the harvest, the Social Individual is involved; if a skillful operator gets hold of the social machinery and manipulates it for his own private end, all feel the shock, and the perversion of the Institution. Thus the Social Individual begins to feel himself not liberated, but enslaved by the Social Whole. In passing from Nature to Society he may get to thinking that he has only changed tyrants; indeed, he may come to believe that Nature alone gives freedom, while Society makes the man a slave. A writer and an age may have such a conviction, which sometimes reaches the point of taking possession of literature and starting

men to action in the overthrow of all Society. Such was the cry of Rousseau, and the result was the French Revolution. Thus we come to the reversionary, reactionary, descending stage, which seeks to return to former social epochs, even to get back to Nature.

We hold, therefore, that the development of the Social Monocracy is in the order of things, but there is no denying that it has a fearful negative side in it, a destructive energy which may produce the cataclysm of the whole institutional world. The Social Whole unfolding into freedom may produce the destroyer of that freedom. The political despot of former ages may be succeeded by the social despot of the present age, and the latter may be worse than the former, unless controlled by Law. Hence the new demand upon the State just here, and the loud cry for the new lawgiver to step forward and subject the Social Monocrat to legality, protecting him in his just sphere and even fostering the great progressive principle which he embodies, but at the same time curbing him in his violation of institutional freedom.

This negative movement of Society is a constituent part of the total social process (or the Social Psychosis), and is the element which we are next to consider.

## II. NEGATIVE SOCIETY.

The Social Order as the economic or industrial Society of our modern age, is the very home of negation, conflict, destruction. As this Society has on one side its end in the satisfaction of the wants of the individual, and as these wants are capable of an almost infinite increase, or an almost infinite diminution, we behold here supremely the arena of individual struggle, of particularism, of selfishness, with their counterpart in human suffering, misery and degradation. In such a condition it is manifest that Society is losing the end of its existence, has, in fact, become negative to the object of its creation.

The great purpose of Society is to mediate the wants of the individual through the Institution, and thus to relieve him of the immediate domination of Nature. In other words, man is to obtain economic freedom through the Social Order, which is, as already often stated, a form of actualized Will whose end is to secure Free-Will. Thus man is to rise to an ethical life and to become institutional just through his wants, receiving a return for his labor through the Social Whole.

But the social individual, having liberated himself from the tyranny of Nature finds himself exposed to another and even more terrible tyranny, that of the Social Whole itself, which has taken

the place of the external and largely accidental determination of a state of Nature. The result is the social individual may see himself reduced quite back to the natural individual, with all the wants of his physical being upon him, yet without the means of gratifying them through the Institution or through Nature, since the latter has been seized in all her native products and bounties just by the Institution and made over into its property, or into property sanctioned by it. No wonder that the individual becomes negative to Society, when Society has become so negative to him.

On the other side stands the individual whose wants are more than satisfied, who, being a colossal bundle of pleasures and caprices which are self-generating and hence are ever increasing, demands and obtains gratification through Society. Such is the grand social dualism. Poverty and Wealth, Misery and Luxury, springing just out of the Institution which secures the individual Will, which latter, however, has here divided itself into two Wills, one of which is secured and the other suppressed or destroyed. Truly may Society in its negative aspect be said to fulfill the scriptural declaration: "To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." The extreme form of the social negation of Society is sometimes heard in the words: "The

rich become richer and the poor poorer." Thus Society is destroying its very end, and shows in itself the process of its own self-undoing.

At the same time, we may here insert, Society is trying to remedy its own evil, to negate its own negative through a system of universal education. The social individual undoubtedly finds himself in a world of dependence, confined on all sides, but just through this dependence he becomes a link in the Social Whole; thus he makes himself necessary to the entire chain, and commands it for his end also. To be sure, he must make himself a link through skill and intelligence, he must be trained to see and participate in the Social Whole, and thereby assist in creating it, so that it needs him as much as he needs it. If he be a mere mechanical link, wholly moved from the outside, he can be easily dropped out; having nothing essential to contribute he cannot receive, and so starves in the midst of plenty. He no longer can take immediately as man once did in the primitive condition, everything is already taken. Ultimately the social individual must be able to make his Self a part of the Social Whole, ready to adjust himself and to give what Society will pay for. He must be not simply one link, but ideally all links; that is, he must enter society with an universal training, which is given by education. Not simply a link, but capable of making himself a link, not simply a machine, but a machine-con-

troller; thus Society is seeking to transform every human being born in its bosom through education, by putting into his hand the means of self-liberation from its own tyranny. And we may also hope that education will become the corrective of the other extreme, of luxury as well as of poverty.

At present, however, our purpose is to set forth the negative forces which have shown themselves in Society, and which are at this moment working in full energy. We shall behold the social individual assailed and tyrannized over by the Social Whole; then the Social Whole is assailed and tyrannized over by the social individual; out of which conflict we shall see rising a Perverted Society, the extreme of negation.

In the first two cases we have the struggle between Society and the Individual, or, as it is often expressed, the war between Capital and Labor. It is the existent Society, which the individual or the laboring individual seeks to restrain or control. But when he finds himself defeated, he begins to construct a new Society of his own over against the existent Society which he deems his oppressor. This new Society he proposes to use for his own end, which is to take the place of the normal social Order. Hence we call it a Perverted Society, which is the culmination and final self-undoing of what we have here designated

as Negative Society. This process with its three stages is as follows: —

I. *Society assails the Individual*; this will show the three leading social elements — the middleman, the individual as workman or laborer, and the Social Whole in its totality — assailing the social individual in his freedom and thus negating the end of Society as an Institution.

II. *The Individual assails Society*; this will show the counterpart to the preceding; the social Individual in self-defense will organize against the Social Whole and pass through the various stages of struggle, triumph and defeat. Finding himself subordinated in the old Society and unable to control it, he will seek to establish a new Society in opposition.

III. *Perverted Society*; this is a Society organized on a wholly different principle from the regular or transmitted Society as it has evolved itself in historic time. Here we shall observe three main forms — Communism, Socialism (industrial), and Nihilism.

In this process we may likewise note the psychological movement. The first stage, in which Society determines or suppresses the Individual, is the immediate one socially, as it is seen in the earliest forms of Society. But in the second stage, when the Individual organizes against the Social Whole, yet still remains inside of it with his organization (as in labor unions), we see the



separation, the social twofoldness and its strife. The third stage shows the Individual forming a new Society whose essence is to determine and dominate the workman or laborer, and thus it is a return to the first stage, which also had this characteristic. We shall find that socialism (the third stage) is a reversion to the first, but after the Individual has passed through the second.

I. SOCIETY ASSAILS THE INDIVIDUAL. This is the tyranny of which mention has been made above; the social man, having been freed from the immediate determination of Nature, is assailed and possibly enslaved or annihilated by the great social machine. Thus, Society as an Institution, whose end is freedom on its economic side, is transformed into something just the opposite of itself, having become a crushing despot, or the means of a crushing despotism. The individual may be cut off from all participation in the Social Whole just through the Social Whole, when the latter is manipulated for a personal end, by the operator or middleman. Capital, the Corporation, the Trust—many souls, yet not one soul—are some of the well-known social implements which the skillful hand in these days employs against the social individual in order to get a part at least of his part of the remuneration for social effort. The man who is fast in the social machine is no longer a freeman, and this consciousness he has recently gained partially, and is still

gaining amid suffering, and folly, and imprecation, often with blows delivered on the wrong thing.

1. *The assault through the middleman.* Already we have seen Society evolving three kinds of middlemen in gradation: the mercantile, the industrial and the monopolistic. Through the latter comes the assault upon the social individual, as he seizes subtly the might of the Institution and turns its golden stream into his own lap. To be sure, he does this through superior ability which must have superior pay; still he, finding himself in control of the social instruments, is tempted to take more than his share, and usually he yields to the temptation. He is the exploiter of labor and performs a great function in the economic Order, but he is using it to further his individual end which he pursues with remorseless energy, and with almost unlimited power. The law which ought to limit him he but too often evades or defies or buys. The merchant prince, the industrial king, the railroad emperor are the rulers, quite absolute, being the new magnates who have quite supplanted the aristocracy of birth in a number of lands. In correspondence with them is the new class of subjects whose effort is controlled and absorbed in part by the new monarchs. How this is done we may glance at in a few words.

(1) First comes the system of wages in modern

society, showing the social individual as wage-earner, whose share in the many-willed product is determined by the middleman largely though not wholly. It is a maxim of Marx and his school that this system of wages is really a system of slavery, of the last or industrial kind, as Society has for the most part passed through its two former stages of slavery, that of bodily servitude and that of serfdom. We must see what there is of truth in this statement, though we may not be able to accept Marx' remedy. He shows in a very striking way that the wage-earner in the social mechanism is very seriously assailed on the side of his freedom, and that this is done by the middleman manipulating the instrumentalities of Society for his own advantage. That which makes wealth, according to Marx, is the "surplus value" of labor, which really belongs to the laborer, but which the middleman (or the capitalist in the language of Marx) seizes through the wage-system and appropriates to himself in the shape of profits. Hence it is the interest of the middleman to keep down the wages of the workman to the point of bare subsistence for himself and for his family, which reproduces labor.

(2) The middleman having reduced the workman to the wage-laborer next proceeds to take his wages or to make them a means of still further subjection. In connection with the mine or mill or factory the store is established by the

middleman who compels his workmen to buy their necessaries of life from him, and in this fashion takes another profit out of wages. In like manner the workman's house is often owned by the middleman who has become both industrial and mercantile. Thus the laborer is simply cut off from the Social Whole as he has nothing to buy and nothing to sell; the middleman has taken the place of the Social Institution for the social individual, who is, therefore, no longer a member of Society. The Institution whose function is to secure economic freedom is supplanted by the middleman, who has become the absolute sovereign over the workman.

These arrangements may be and often are made with regard to the welfare of the laborer. Even if better housed, fed and clothed than formerly, he has lost freedom, the boon of life; at best there is a relapse to paternalism, to the patriarchal Society, which may be mild and provident, but which is unfree, and hence in deep collision with his inmost aspiration as well as with the movement of civilization.

(3) Still further, inside the workshop the middleman limits the workman more and more in his work, confining him to an ever-diminishing portion of the total product through the division of labor, by which his efficiency is increased. Thereby, however, he becomes a little part of a great mechanism, more and more narrowed in

its existence till his place is actually taken by a machine, when he is thrown out of employment and cast forth into the world.

Such is the middleman's negative procedure toward the social individual as workman, whom he has first deprived of surplus earnings, then of social freedom, and finally of work itself as the means of subsistence. The middleman has done all this in the existent social Order, but it is clear that he has subverted the very purpose of Society which is not to destroy but to confirm the freedom of the individual. Thus the middleman through the manipulation of his resources has made Society negative to itself. Not in all cases is this extreme result reached, still the tendency exists.

Not alone is the workman assailed from without by the middleman, he is also confronted by a destructive element inside his own class.

2. *The assault through the workman.* Considering the social individual still as workman, we are now to see him assailed by his fellow-workman, who will take away his social freedom quite as effectually and with even greater violence than did the middleman. Later we shall note how labor organizes itself primarily to secure its social freedom, but it too will fall into doing just the opposite and will deprive its own class of liberty of action. Some of these manifestations we shall briefly designate here.

(1) The laborer is forced to join some labor organization often against his will; then he is forced to strike against his employers, without any regard to his wishes; he must lie idle and perchance starve at the command of the new master. Thus the workman organizing himself in pursuit of freedom has destroyed freedom; he will neither work himself nor let others work; he has made a Society negative to every end of Society. As this means loss of money, starvation and slavery, there rises opposition.

(2) The workman, one or more, declares his independence and starts to work; he seeks to free himself of this new slavery coming from his class. In one form or other the conflict opens between the workmen themselves, a kind of civil war in the laboring ranks. Often there are pitched battles, in which the State has to be invoked to preserve the peace.

(3) The result is the establishment of a reign of terror by labor over labor; the organization of workmen annihilates the individual workman. The latter has a new and peculiar fear in the social organism: he is afraid to work. The primordial right of man, the right of living by his own hands, is taken away. No Asiatic despotism has ever so fundamentally assailed and destroyed the social individual. Of course, all this is done in the name of liberty, which, however, has undone even the liberty of work.

As the workman with wife and children must live, he turns like a beggar to picking up what he can find outside his vocation, from which he has been expelled. An outcast from the Social Order which he wishes to serve, he goes forth to a new locality in order to begin life afresh. In the hope of escaping the destructive energy which his own class has generated, he flees to some unobserved nook where he may still find the liberty to work.

But he may experience even in the remote corner that there is a negative force coming from the social Order and penetrating his little world.

3. *The assault through Society as a Whole.* The social individual is also exposed to the great general movements of the social Order, which at given periods become negative and produce what are called "Hard Times." These movements do not proceed from an individual like the middleman, nor from a class like the workmen, though both are included. The Social Whole has its own life, its own process accompanied with relapses and convulsions of various kinds, which thrill through the organism and involve every member.

Production is a social act, the result of many Wills co-operating, indeed of the whole social Order. It is not easy to assign to each his share in the many-willed Product; this difficulty calls forth the wage-system which gives to the work-

man at least his immediate sustenance, and it may be more. But Competition enters, which is a kind of war between industrial middlemen for the profits of a business which has a good market. But the market is after all limited and becomes overstocked; at this point Competition enters fiercely, cutting down profits and also wages. As the majority of people are dependent on wages, their ability to purchase is lessened by a decline in their earnings. Such a decline becomes general and everybody is more or less affected.

In order to prevent Competition from destroying them, the industrial middlemen begin to combine instead of competing with one another. The extent of the market is known and production is adjusted to it, whereby profits are saved. Thus we have the phenomenon of the Trust in its recent colossal development. Then Combination in its turn becomes tyrannical, dictating everything in its field and crushing out the social individual both as workman and as merchant.

But the most striking instance of the social individual assailed and rendered helpless by a great social movement is seen in the panic. In addition to economic causes (such as over-production, speculation, etc.), there comes into play the subjective factor, which is most important. An universal distrust of every social instrument seizes the whole body of Society, and a rush is



made specially to realize every form of credit. Then consumption dwindles, particularly of all unessential articles; vast quantities of labor are thrown out of employment, and the laborer has to purchase the least possible, and so is forced to add to the depression. Such is the social Fate which seems to be always hanging over the individual, and which he himself helps to create.

Thus Society may assail its individual member through its Panic (1), which springs forth usually unforeseen and rages like an epidemic, smiting right and left all classes of people as if it were an avenging Nemesis for some great social transgression, which it doubtless is. Then comes the assault which springs from Competition (2) of the middlemen, who first assail one another, but after a time involve everybody in their conflict, especially their own workmen, who have at last, like the common soldier, to sustain the burden of the war. But the Competitors also suffer, and so they make peace with one another and enter into a Combination (3) which is to do away with the war of Competition, and control all production as well as the producers. The Social Body, at least in the given sphere, has now a master, whose development we have traced more fully in another connection. This master (monopolist, monocrat) will have the function of preserving the Social Whole from the sudden and unexpected throes of the Panic, as well as from

the destructive war of Competition. Such we may deem his good side, but on the other hand social freedom lies at his feet, or perchance under his feet if he chooses to put it there.

It is manifest at this stage that the Social Whole which man has projected out of himself into the world for the purpose of actualizing his Free-Will more completely, and has made the mediator of his Wants, has indeed helped him to one kind of freedom, freedom from the domination of Nature. But it has begotten a new kind of subjection, the individual has become dependent just on this Social Whole, its action and non-action, often irregular enough; if its process be interrupted — and we have seen it to be exposed to various kinds of interruption — he may be cut off from his food, and even from the opportunity to labor. The result must be that he will rise against the Social Whole and seek to determine it, or at least to prevent it from determining him so absolutely. We may indeed call it the new struggle for freedom.

But ere we pass to this part of our subject, we may glance back of the social phase we have just passed through, under the caption *Society assails the Individual*. This assault we have seen taking place through the three main social factors — through the mediating principle or middleman, through the Social Individual himself as the producer or workman, and through the Social Whole

in its totality, which is finally represented by a single Will, a master and possibly a tyrant.

Accordingly we shall next witness the counter movement which will show the Social Individual organizing himself against Society, in order to control it and make it secure his freedom, which it has jeopardized, if not destroyed.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL ASSAILS SOCIETY. Here is specially the sphere of conflict. It now is the turn of the Social Individual to move. Knowing that he is as necessary to the Social Whole as it is to him, he organizes himself into a new Society, thus making two within the Social Whole. He withdraws and stops the working of the latter or deranges it greatly. His blow is directed against the middleman, but it involves the whole community, and may extend much further.

This is a move for freedom, freedom from the Social Machine with its servitude. The workmen organize into their own combination against the combination of wealth and refuse to give their labor to the Social Whole, whose food is this labor. So the laborer is forced to learn something of organization, and he enters the struggle, which at first wins, provided that he keeps within bounds and seeks a true social freedom. But he will not keep within such bounds, success will destroy him by bringing him to do the very wrong which he fights against. His special association will be guilty of the same violation of

freedom which he complains of in the Social Order, and which he has organized it to suppress. Thus he must in the end be defeated, in fact he defeats himself.

1. *Organization of Labor.* One of the great social phenomena of the present is the power which labor has shown of organizing itself and conducting a long and bitter campaign.

Often this organization exists, not with a negative purpose directly, its design is not to assail, but to supplant by self-effort the middleman. The laborer becomes or calls forth his own middleman, and thus re-establishes society in its simple form, producing a kind of reversion to primitive conditions—co-operation, profit-sharing, labor-banks, etc. But these can hardly be permanent in spite of local or temporary success. They are a corrective more than a substitute, and their real purpose is to cause a reformation in oppressive business methods.

The organization of labor is directed chiefly against the existent abuse or tyranny of the middleman, who is employing social instrumentalities for his own individual ends. If he can be brought to terms, the struggle usually subsides, for a time at least. The fundamental object of the organization of labor is to secure social freedom when assailed, but this organization itself often assails social freedom.

There has always been some form of associa-

tion among workmen for their protection. The guilds of the Middle Ages are well known, and have transmitted some of their characteristics to the present. But the modern organization which has a special distinction is called the *Trades Union*; this was in recent times overtopped by the *Knights of Labor*, which extended throughout the nation, and sought to combine all laborers in one general society. Karl Marx and his associates did not like the national limit and so formed the *International*, which endeavored to combine the workmen of all nations into a united power, which evidently Marx himself was to control. But this has fallen to pieces. Still labor has kept up its national and local organization, which on provocation and sometimes without sufficient provocation declares war.

2. *The triumph of labor.* This must take place when labor makes itself the champion of those oppressed by the middleman or by perverse social arrangements. When the laborer has to live in the house owned by his employer, buy at the latter's store, and pay the prices, not of the market but those dictated by the firm he works for, he is socially enslaved, he is no longer a member of the Social Whole and its process, but is forced out of it and put under a master. When organized labor declares war against such an oppressor, it is upholding the cause of man's freedom, it is seeking to restore the right of

Society to people from whom it has been taken away.

In such a case the individual is assailing Society, but he has his justification. Just as political rebellion must sometimes be resorted to for the sake of vindicating Free-Will, so this social rebellion has its place, at least in the present order of things. The Constitution of the United States is supposed to have solved the problem of political Revolution, but there is as yet no legal document which is able fully to cope with social revolt in the economic world. The war comes on and is fought out to the bitter end, no adequate mediation having yet been discovered.

Often arbitration is spoken of as the means and is sometimes employed. But the arbitrator has no power of enforcing his judgment, it is not Law, it is not an integral part of the State, which has as its function to secure by might the enactment whose object is to vindicate freedom. When each side must consent to the decision, it is not truly institutional, and hence is no solution of the trouble. The State must be the final justiciary, who is to declare and to enforce Free-Will through the Law.

In this conflict we may note the usual stages through which the two opposing sides pass. (1) Organized labor states to the middleman or employer its grievances not only in the matter of wages, but in other matters wherein the social

freedom of the workman is violated or too much curtailed. (2) When the demands of organized labor are not listened to, then it withdraws from production and there is what is known as the strike. This is the social war which inflicts injury on both sides; one set is losing wages, the other profits and interest and probably more. (3) The outcome in the present case is that labor is recognized, it has made valid its defense of freedom, having compelled the middleman or other aggressor to cease from his assault on the social freedom of the workman, and to stop using social means to pervert or destroy the end of Society.

This is undoubtedly a great public service performed by organized labor. But now comes the hardest test, the test of success. Will labor abuse its victory? The fact must be confessed that it has never failed to grow tyrannical in triumph; nay it usually begins its tyranny before victory in order to win victory, and the result is that it is almost always defeated. For when labor organized becomes as bad as the middleman or even worse, what is the gain in changing masters? Thus we have to chronicle the next stage.

3. *The defeat of labor.* It has become a common statement that nearly every strike is a failure, even though it begins with good prospects and with public sympathy. And the fact is unquestionable that organized workmen are apt to

become more tyrannical than any other class of men in modern Society. The consequence is that there is a very grave doubt even among well-wishers whether the labor organization can obtain the freedom and the rights which it ought to have. When its cause is just and is for the public good and for progress, it is sure to lose by its fatal management. The laborer when he starts to fight for liberty, turns at once to a despot. He seems wholly unable to keep himself out of this self-destroying contradiction, and no labor leader has yet appeared who can restrain his following from logical suicide. In fact he usually becomes the leader by spurring men on to violence which must come back to themselves.

From vindicating its own right, labor passes over to assailing the right of the middleman and of the Social Whole. When it finds it has the power, it starts to abusing its victory, too often led by the agitator, the sorehead, the demagogue. Labor in its turn assailing the Free-Will is and must be finally defeated, it has logically undone itself. So we have also the spectacle of the tyranny of labor over the middleman, following on the tyranny of the middleman over labor.

(1) Labor seeks to control the private business of the middleman, or to dictate in matters which do not pertain to it. Here it assumes authority where there is no responsibility, and really assails the Social Whole, which is to secure



economic freedom to all. Hence this blow it gives to its own principle.

(2) Labor turns and enslaves its own. The organization seeks to enforce its mandate upon every laborer, whether he belongs to it or not, whether he wills so or not. If he offers to work, he meets with violence. Thus the tyranny of labor destroys the freedom of labor; the organization becomes a double tyrant, against its own members and against all who wish to work.

(3) At this point the State is assailed in its fundamental object, and has to put down labor by violence, so that the outcome of the tyranny of labor is the defeat of labor by means of that Institution whose supreme function is to secure Free-Will by law backed up with power. Undoubtedly such a defeat has its drawback, for it is apt to endow the middleman with a new lease of tyrannous exaction which has to be put down in its turn by law for the sake of vindicating the Free-Will of the individual.

Such is, then, the bitter dualism into which modern Society in its negative movement is constantly falling. Neither the Social Individual nor the Social Whole can be entrusted with the duty of actualizing social freedom, which is the great end of all human association. Each will tyrannize over the other if it gets the chance, and thus we witness that everlasting see-saw between labor and capital, which has become the

typical fact of the present social world. It is no wonder that many attempts are made to cure the trouble, or even to get rid of the conflict by getting rid of both sides in their present form.

The Social Individual being defeated and put down inside the Social Whole, will in many cases submit; but in other cases he will proceed to build a new Society outside the Social Whole and in opposition to its movement. As the Social Individual and the Social Whole have both failed to secure the social good, and have ended in tyranny, both are to be deprived of their power and transformed; the new Social Whole is to eliminate the middleman and his pursuit of wealth, while the new Social Individual is to abjure his social freedom and be directed by the Social Whole immediately in his labor. Thus Society is wheeled about and made to move in just the opposite direction to its course hitherto; it is inverted, or rather perverted from its institutional end. This important stage of Negative Society is worthy of a careful and prolonged look.

III. **PERVERTED SOCIETY.** A new society rises against Society, a social institution whose object is to supplant or destroy the Social Institution. Or such a doctrine is affirmed and attempts are made to carry it out. But what element of Society shall be eliminated, what be made the basis of the new society?

The Social Whole must be ordered now in some form that it may control the individual. While recognizing his wants, it is to assign him his task. In some manner or other Society must make every person will the whole, and take away the pursuit of gain, of individual striving. As at present constituted, Society is the arena of individual self-exploitation; this must be cut off in a new order.

Of course such a Society turns about the very end of the existent Society, hence we call it perverted. Ordinarily Society is just that Institution which is to mediate human want, not to destroy or even limit it. Any want can be gratified, provided it be done through the Institution. Satisfaction of wants Society is not to curb, if the man earns or inherits the fortune he is spending.

Accordingly, a new social form is called into existence, or at least is theoretically set forth, whose object is to displace the old social form which has unfolded with the ages. These two social forms are in essential respects the opposites of each other, and this opposition turns chiefly upon the individual ownership of property.

The new social form seeks to construct an institution and to endow it with an authority which assigns to the individual his end in the Social Whole, directing and controlling his effort not to his end, but to its end. Thus it aims at the

absolute socialization of man as against his personal pursuits, especially that of wealth. His purpose in life and his career are determined from the outside by the Social Whole which is the sole owner and distributor.

Manifestly the new Institution, in seeking to save the individual from poverty and to bring about social equality, has destroyed freedom. In order to nullify selfishness, it has nullified selfhood; if the social individual is liberated from the oppression of the middleman, he is, on the other hand, enslaved to the Social Whole, which is now the universal capitalist, and certainly can become just as tyrannical as the individual capitalist, while to escape from it is more difficult.

The idea or the scheme of this new social form is usually called socialism, as its whole stress lies upon the socialization of man. The term *socialism*, however, is very indefinite and is applied to many diverse, in fact to quite all phases of social transformation. Certain functions performed by modern governments, as the mail service, are often called socialistic. The tendency of the State at the present time toward ownership of railroads, telegraphs, etc., is usually designated as a socialistic tendency. Many improvements which have as their end the security of the individual and his rights are classed under the very general name of socialism.

Evidently there are two main kinds of socialism, one positive and one negative, one of which affirms the existent social order and endeavors to carry it forward in the line of its normal development, while the other seeks to overturn it, or perchance to turn it round and make it flow just in the opposite direction. This would be Society not only diverted but perverted, made to face about and go the other way, and do and be just the other of itself. In socialism, then, we behold the two great tendencies, the evolutionary and the revolutionary—the one co-operating with Society as now historically developed, the latter wheeling it around toward the opposite goal and thereby making a wholly new institution, or trying to do so.

Moreover, the fact again comes to light that perversion is also a reversion, quite as we saw in the case of the Family. The new social form, when looked into with historical eyes, is found to be in many respects one of the oldest of social forms, which Society as a whole has transcended, even if it must now and then go back and take a dip in its earliest fountain. The socialistic ideal has its likeness to the primitive Village Community which assigned to the individual member his share of the common produce, or his lot for tillage out of the common lands.

In the present account of Perverted Society we intend to deal with the negative or revolutionary

phase of socialism; the evolutionary phase will be considered later. The supreme object of this sort of socialism is to construct a social system of its own, at whose disposal it places the social individual, in order to rescue him from the tyranny of the middleman. The difficulty here lies at hand. This new Society must be administered by an individual, who can, in his turn, become a tyrant and rouse hostility. Thus, socialism is always, when at the point of realization, also at the point of self-dissolution; it puts one tyranny in the place of another.

The phenomena of revolutionary socialism (in the sense just given) arrange themselves in distinct groups, which shade into one another, but which can be marked distinctly in their general outline as well as in their fundamental thought. There is, first, what is usually called Communism, which word, however, we shall reserve for a more pressing need as well as for a more fitting place; this stage we shall here name Communistic Socialism. Its members usually form a peaceful, retired non-combative community, seeking rather a primitive idyllic existence than a militant propagandism of their doctrine. For the most part this sort of socialism has a religious origin and keeps up its religious character. Quite the opposite is the second sort of socialism, which we shall call Industrial Socialism, and which at present is the dominant

school. It is not retiring, but aggressive, on the whole anti-religious, materialistic, sensuous, determined to get and to swallow its share of good things of this world. It cultivates chiefly the proletariat endeavoring to weld this class into a social unit by itself, which will be strong enough to take possession (peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must) not only of other classes of society but of all institutions (Marx). Very easily does this pass over into the third kind of socialism known as Nihilism, in which the present negative movement winds itself up in the destruction of all institutions, secular and religious.

Some remarks will be devoted to expanding these three socialistic groups, all of them revolutionary, yet in different ways.

1. *Communist Socialism.* Most of the communistic societies of the world have had their origin in religion. Indeed the religious consciousness has an element of communism in its very nature. The fatherhood of God must have as its corollary the brotherhood of man, and this brotherhood is to be realized in an institution whose members share everything equally like brothers. The earliest Christian society, that of the disciples, was communistic, and this example has often been cited and followed by bodies of men and women. From the beginning of Christianity down to the present this phase has never quite lapsed, and at times breaks out with sudden

fervor. Saint Simon called his chief work the "New Christianity," and started into life the modern socialistic agitation of France. But the grand arena for communistic experiments has been America, where was abundance of land, and no interference from Church or State or People unless roused by moral violation. An account of these has been given by Nordhoff in his *Communistic Societies of the United States*. These are attempts at putting an ideal social condition into living reality. In contrast with them we must mention two most famous communistic schemes which have remained purely ideal, but which have had a deep influence upon men's minds in the present direction. One is ancient, Plato's *Republic*; the other is modern, More's *Utopia*; neither of them is distinctively religious, but social and political.

1. The communistic Society is based primarily upon the community of goods as its distinctive social principle, which, as before said, is generally enforced by religious sanctions. Its natural home is in the country, and its natural vocation is agriculture. It belongs to a simple-hearted folk who love peace, a certain degree of seclusiveness, and their own religious communings. The question has been asked whether the members of such a community will do their full quota of work, as the motive of self-interest is absent. They are certainly not the people to



develop the resources of a great country, though they are industrious and honest and frugal.

2. When it comes to the Family there is great variation in the attitude of the different associations. Some have a community of wives, or what the Oneida Society calls complex marriage. Others have no wives at all, as the Shakers, but remain celibates, recruiting their numbers by converts and by adopting poor children. Still others limit marriage and place it under various restrictions. Then again there are attempts to limit the number of children after marriage. In many of them a religious tone exists which discourages matrimony, holding it to be less consistent with the divine will than celibacy. Most of this proceeds doubtless from the imitation of early Christian example as set forth in the New Testament, which, as we have already seen, is not especially favorable to the Family. On the whole, therefore, communistic socialism must be pronounced to be quite uncertain about itself in regard to the domestic institution.

3. In regard to the State the communistic society finds itself in a condition of passive antagonism. Indeed if its principles were universally carried out, they would overthrow the government of any country probably, certainly that of the United States. For the communistic society is necessarily a despotism, however mild this may be. Says Mr. Nordhoff: "The funda-

mental principle of communal life is the subordination of the individual will to the general interest or the general will; practically this takes the shape of unquestioning obedience of the members toward the elders or chiefs of their society." Thus we see something like the old patriarchate with its absolute authority.

Such a community is therefore, revolutionary, though peaceful and non-resistant. It is a society which rises up inside Society against Society. It seeks not to overturn by open violence or by secret machination, still it aims at the grand social overturn. A free State tolerates this opposition to itself as a religious or social conviction. But such a community is none the less negative to the universal social order of man as this has developed itself up to date. Hence it is to be set down as a form of Perverted Society, whose first, most immediate, most implicit stage it is, often quite unconscious of itself and of its own perversion.

Moreover we should note that the present perversion is likewise a reversion. We shall soon have occasion to speak of the Village Community as a phase of primitive society, almost wholly agricultural, communistic as to land, often acting despotically toward the individual, a marvelous prototype of the modern institution which we have just been describing. Thus we shall see that this primordial social unit often reproduces

itself, especially in a simple rural, unadvanced population, alongside of the social forms of the latest civilization.

Such are, in general, the social, domestic and political relations of these communistic societies, which necessarily are revealed in their dealings with Property, Family, and State. They have, moreover, a tendency to inner disintegration, their number and their membership have diminished in the United States. They cannot stand civilization any more than can the Indian, who also lives in a primitive Village Community, which, however, is not a reversion, but is original. The cause of dissolution is usually the absolute authority of the patriarchate which drives off many of the younger members who will not endure the suppression of their individuality. It is the spirit of young America that breaks down the communal principle, or quits it for a free career in the outside world.

The next step is that socialism will enter just the realm of modern civilization, from which it shrank in the communistic society. Out of its narrow, self-sufficient life in the country, where wants were essentially limited to and satisfied by the community, we now behold socialism stepping forth into the very center of the industrial arena of the most advanced peoples.

2. *Industrial Socialism.* Thus we name the present phase, roughly indicating thereby its

general character as well as its origin. It belongs to the city rather than to the country, springs up in the manufacturing class rather than in the agricultural; it is aggressive, defiant, for peace or war according to the outlook. It seeks the material well-being of the workman, and believes chiefly in that. Its tendency, on the whole, must be pronounced to be antagonistic to religion, though not many socialists go to the length of the socialist Marr, who says: "The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization. It must be destroyed. The true root of liberty, of equality, of culture, is Atheism" (Cited in *Rae, Contemporary Socialism*, p. 119). This, of course, quite touches the point of Nihilism.

On the other hand it should be mentioned that there is or has been an active body of propagandists who call themselves Christian Socialists. Two parties under this name have arisen in Germany, one of Catholic origin (Bishop Ketteler) and the other of Protestant (Pastor Todt). In England also the same name (Christian Socialists) was applied to a band of reformers whose leading spirit was Maurice. Still there is a general agreement of opinion that the Industrial Socialism of the present is not religious in its origin, character, or reverence. Its materialism is undisguised, its sensism repels most people who have any faith in the Unseen.

The idea of socialism in its industrial phase is

a collective capital belonging to the Social Whole, employed for production through labor, and distributed equitably to the producer (who is the laborer), by the Social Whole. The two extremes are Production and Distribution; between the two lies the Social Whole, which is both owner and distributor, taking the place of the middleman in exploiting the laborer, owning the capital, and distributing the product. The Social Whole thus becomes the all-dominating factor, with its centralized capital and equally centralized authority over both production and distribution. Says Schäfle in his book, *The Quintessence of Socialism*, probably the clearest account of this complicated subject: "The Alpha and Omega of socialism is the transformation of private competing capitals into a united collective capital," which is to be wholly manipulated by the socialistic unit.

Just here lies the overwhelming difficulty in the scheme of socialism. It is evident that the Social Whole, with this socialistic burden upon it, will have a task many times greater than that of any government which ever existed. Its administrator, however appointed, will have a power more searching, more absolute over the individual than any other monarch of Europe, not excepting the Tsar of Russia. Its horde of officials will constitute an army, the like of which has never been seen at any time in any country

of the world. In fact, no socialist has ever approachingly solved this phase, the political phase, of the problem.

Industrial Socialism has become an historical fact reaching quite through the nineteenth century, and the best way of grasping its movement is to look at its history. It has swept through the three leading countries of Europe—England, France and Germany, in the order of time, and with special developments in each case. Still, all three reveal one spirit, which takes its origin in an industrial civilization.

1. We shall begin with England, in which country industrialism first fully developed itself, and also the philosophy of it in the old Political Economy. The first organizing socialist was Robert Owen (1771–1858), born in Wales, manager of a cotton mill in Manchester, England, manufacturer and philanthropist at New Lanark, Scotland, founder of a socialistic settlement at New Harmony, Indiana, and finally propagandist of socialism in London. Owen began on the practical side; he had the full round of social experience, as he had been laborer, owner and capitalist, and then reformer. Thus he had the whole cycle of socialism at work within him, and out of his life it unfolds more than out of the life of any other man. He was the most prolific genius in the organization of social ideas, he seems to have contained implicitly the entire

future development of socialism. According to trustworthy accounts he established out of the most degraded human elements a kind of laborers' paradise at New Lanark; he started infant schools long before the kindergarden of Froebel existed; he was the chief originator of the factory acts of the English Parliament, which have become a part of the beneficent legislation of all civilized nations.

On the whole, Owen is the most interesting, and in himself the most complete figure in the history of socialism though he has strong rivals. He is personally the embodiment of the socialistic idea centering in the Social Whole which is to look after the laborer and even the laborer's children, which is to conduct the business of a vast organization with supreme administrative ability, and which is to assign justly to everyone the fruits of his labor. All these talents Owen possessed and practically exercised; he was the veritable incarnation of the total socialistic process. Socialists after him will be laborers, agitators, theorists, separately; but no one will represent the great central fact, as well as prime difficulty of socialism, the administration of the unified social Whole, as did Robert Owen.

The latter part of his life was not successful. His strength lay in the practical field which he quit for the theoretical, venting his negative opinions on religion and on the family and on

other matters quite outside of the true bent of his genius. The result was, he lost his prestige and almost his good name, so that he has hardly yet received due credit for his wonderful fertility of thought. Then his literary expression was inadequate; though he wrote a good deal, he has left no epoch-making book. He probably gave to Marx the idea of surplus value, which is the central principle of Marx' famous book *Das Kapital*. At least the idea is said to be fully stated, with the socialistic consequences drawn from it, in some of Owen's early writings.

2. French socialism of the present century is to be chiefly ascribed to the theories of Saint Simon (1760-1825) whose influence culminated some years after that of Owen, though the latter was the younger man. Saint Simon's socialism is theoretical at the start; it begins with books, not with deeds, wherein he stands in contrast with Owen, who made his ideas real before he expounded them to any extent in writing. The school of Saint Simon was mainly composed of highly educated and learned men who elaborated and propagated the system of their master. Much practical fruit it never bore; it remained an idea, or more often a sentiment which stirred the hearts of impressionable Frenchmen with benevolence, as its leading doctrine was that "the end of all Society was the amelioration of the poorest class." Louis Blanc felt



this practical inadequacy and wrote his *Organization du Travail* for the purpose of rousing French socialists to strive for practical results which he tried to bring about by establishing his social workshops.

Saint Simon belonged to the old nobility of France, and his socialism is largely the result of a reaction against the individualistic tendencies of the French Revolution. Still he does not propose to go back to the old fendal *regime*, but to advance to the new order which is the socialistic. His ideas have had a great influence upon a certain class of ardent minds, and upon French workmen in the large manufacturing centers. But the French peasant is the unshaken foe of socialism with its supposed attempt to get his few acres of land, which he loves; for the same reason he hates the old monarchy with its feudalism, from which during the Revolution he wrenched his little estate. Hence these millions of peasants with their adherents support the present French Republic and have given to it an unexpected stability, as they regard it their bulwark against feudalism on the one side and socialism on the other. The system of the socialist Fourier had also some adherents in France, and in other countries, but its influence was by no means equal to that of Saint Simon's work. Socialism, notwithstanding the stir it has made in Paris, Lyons and some other large towns, has

never gotten political possession of France, nor will it, in the present attitude of the French peasantry and landed proprietors.

French Socialism, at least, in its earlier form, may be said to have spent itself in the Parisian Revolution of 1848. In the Fifties it was quiescent, if not moribund, though it still had its fervent disciples. English socialism was at this period in a similar condition. But in the sixties socialism passed to the third great European nation, in which it was destined to celebrate its proudest triumph and to find its most influential writers. This was Germany. A man arose equally gifted in theory and practice, equally ready for speculation and action, though he was anything but a son of toil, like Owen. Indeed he was a gilded son of pleasure while organizing German labor.

3. Such was the wonderful phenomenon named Ferdinand Lassalle, whom Alexander von Humboldt baptized as *Das Wunderkind*. He was the founder of German socialism and established its apostolate, which has sent forth many enthusiastic and persistent disciples, who have kept the cause flourishing in Germany and have propagated it in the other parts of the world.

Lassalle was succeeded by a greater man than himself, though not a greater genius, Karl Marx. The latter is verily the prophet of Industrial Socialism, having written what has been called the

Bible of the German workingman, who has, indeed, to a large extent cast off the other Hebrew Bible. It is a surprising fact that both Lassalle and Marx, the great apostles of the native German proletariat, were born Jews, with the advantages of a University education and of parental property. One is inclined to see in their socialistic absolutism a strain of the Oriental consciousness, if not a reversion to Hebrew paternalism. At any rate both are bitter enemies of the modern political freedom of the individual, which is an evolution of European races as distinct from the Asiatic. With Marx especially all Institutions, State, Church, and Family also largely are swallowed up in the one social Institution, whose great end is to secure an increased material subsistence to the laborer. A kind of pantheistic absorption of the individual into the all devouring Social Whole is the main article of the new faith which is to supersede all need of patriotism or religion. It was the natural outcome of Marx' doctrine and probably of his birth that he could found the so-called International, having little sympathy with the National in any form.

This brings us to say a few words about Marx' leading idea which is that of "surplus value," whose meaning is, that while labor is the source of all value, the laborer gets only enough of this value to pay for the bare subsistence of himself

and his family, the surplus going into the pockets of the capitalist. The "surplus value" of the product, which in justice belongs to the laborer producing it, is appropriated under the present system by the middleman. This is, in fact, the generating idea of all industrial socialism, and was distinctly seen and formulated by Owen and his followers. The capitalist or middleman robs the laborer of his just share of the common product through the system of wages, which makes the workingman himself a commodity, a thing bought and sold in the labor-market, a wage-slave as he now often calls himself, in distinction from the land-slave or serf, and from the body-slave. For "the iron law of wages" binds him in its fetters, giving him barely enough to reproduce himself, first in the physical sustenance of his own body, then in that of his children, who are to furnish the future labor-market with wage-slaves for capital. To this inner pressure comes the outer war of competition between the middlemen themselves, into whose fluctuations the laborer is necessarily drawn and suffers.

The doctrine that labor is the source of value is derived from Adam Smith and especially from Ricardo, and thus Marx has forced the old orthodox Political Economy of England into socialism, which fact has been one cause of its recent discredit. The sensism of Marx shows itself in his ascribing all value to the brawn of the laborer

and little or none to the brain of middleman, the undertaker and executor of great business enterprises which employ labor. Yet Marx springs intellectually from the idealist Hegel, whose negative dialectic he uses with commanding skill, but whose positive institutional element he not only ignores but destroys. Lassalle was also in his early career a follower of Hegel.

Many reasons have been assigned why socialism takes no deep hold upon Anglo-Saxon peoples. It has been imported into America by German immigrants, but has a tendency to die out in the second generation. On the whole the native American can see in pure socialism little hope of social salvation, though he is ready to accept, and is getting ready to apply practically certain ideas often called socialistic, such as the municipal ownership of some kinds of public service. But the massive political burden of universal socialism he refuses to take upon himself, since he, as a voter, is ultimately the law-maker and ruler. Hence he feels his own political responsibility, which he cannot throw off upon an absolute government in which he has no hand. The German, trained under a system of paternalism, seems to think that the State can do anything, can introduce the socialistic scheme by fiat. Few Americans, owing to their political experience in self-government, entertain any such delusion. They have already trouble enough in keeping the

administration of city and State in fair condition, and they are wary of adding to the difficulty. Still there is little doubt that certain thoughts, which have been thrown up to the surface by the socialistic agitation, are having and will continue to have an influence upon American legislation.

3. *Nihilism.* We have now reached the last phase of this negative movement of Society, in which the negation becomes completely explicit, frankly proclaiming its own character and naming itself accordingly. Men have come to the point of associating in order to destroy all forms of association as these exist at present; the very fact of their being shows that they ought not to be. A society of Nihilists must, of course, soon annihilate itself.

The doctrine is different from Socialism (in the sense here used), but easily and indeed naturally springs out of it by abstracting its negative side and making the same the end. The direct object of Nihilism is to destroy the social Whole, not to transform it by peaceful means. The institution is to be abolished, the mediation of human wants through Society is declared to be tyranny, hostile to man's Free Will, which is to exist only in its immediate form and not institutionally. This is the complete reversion to the state of violence, wherein we see a return to the purest individualism. Here Nihilism becomes

the opposite of Socialism, though it too can only end in the domination of the strongest. Thus Socialism is devoured by its own child.

One country in Europe has been the chief scene of Nihilism, Russia. It exists in all lands, but it has specially thriven among Slavonic peoples. Teutonic socialism, passing over the border to the East, became Russian Nihilism. The strangest fact about it is that it traces its intellectual origin to Hegel's philosophy, which early split into two main divisions (often said to be three), the positive and the negative. The negative Hegelians, usually called the Hegelian left, developed the dialectical side of Hegel and hurled it remorselessly against all existent reality. From the German universities Russian students carried this negative Hegelianism into Russia, and applied its destructive criticism to the social and political institutions of their fatherland. Stern repression followed, which met with obstinate resistance, physical and intellectual; out of the collision Nihilism has developed, practical and theoretical.

In Germany, we may here add, this negative Hegelianism ran its course and finally negated itself, as it must, but at the same time it destroyed the Hegelian philosophy, almost extirpating this branch of study from the German Universities. Now comes another curious fact: positive Hegelianism has taken refuge in Anglo-Saxon coun-

tries, in England and America, where it is much studied, and is slowly being made the theoretical basis of just that institutional world, which it, on its dialectical side, was once invoked to destroy. Such are the two opposing streams of influence which have their sources in the great German philosopher.

Nihilism has passed through a number of transformations. It is so completely dialectical that it is liable to contradict itself at any point. It is necessarily the least consistent doctrine which it is possible for man to hold. For Nihilism, in the very assertion of itself as a principle, must be annihilating itself. Its self-realization is the act of self-destruction. Some of its fleeting appearances we may gaze at for a moment.

1. Its first form was a socialistic Nihilism, whose object was to destroy the existent social order, and upon the ruins to let a society build itself, whose outlines were left exceedingly vague. The immediate object was social destruction, which might be accomplished through the existing government. The Russian State and Socialism had a very important principle in common, namely absolutism. The Tsar Alexander II., who annihilated serfdom and other social relations, was himself a kind of an imperial Nihilist, who perished at last through Nihilism. Some say that he is the main source of Russian Nihilism; certainly it had its chief develop-



ment during his reign and brought it to an end.

2. The government of Russia prosecuted the Nihilists bitterly, with the result that the latter turned upon the government and assailed its head in a series of plots and assassinations which have hardly a parallel in history. These horrors in rapid succession sent shiver after shiver through the whole civilized world, and the crack of doom seemed to be heard over Russia. Thus out of the socialistic Nihilism came a national Nihilism which sought particularly the overthrow of Tsardom. This very year (1901) we read of renewed Nihilistic activity in Russia.

3. Of this national Russian Nihilism has been born a new offspring, which we may call universal Nihilism. It no longer confines itself to Russia, but has propagated itself throughout Europe, and has reached America along with European immigrants. Strangely the Italian seems to be most deeply affected by this kind of Nihilism, and is constituting himself assassin for the world. The Russian is apparently inclined to keep his Nihilism for home use, though he becomes its missionary to other lands. The greatest apostle of universal Nihilism was a Russian, the famous Bakunin, who spread it among Latin peoples, especially among Italians. Though he spurred on many a poor devil to death for the cause, he himself died under shelter, with skin

whole, at Berne in 1876. Bakunin, too, in early life was a zealous follower of Hegel, whose negative side he has carried out more completely than any other disciple, living or dead.

The doctrine of Bakunin passed through several stages, but its culmination is seen in his society called, "The Alliance of Socialist Democracy," founded in 1869. In its programme this "Alliance declares itself atheistic," as its starting-point; then "all political and authoritative States should disappear," and this is to be accomplished by a "universal revolution, social, philosophical, political, in order that first in Europe and then in the rest of the world there may not remain one stone upon another of the existing order of things." Thus Bakunin has "universalized" his negation, following a well-known Hegelian procedure, of course after his own original fashion, which in this extremity was not known to Hegel.

So much for the doctrine; but what about the organization of the "Alliance?" It was probably the most completely centralized, despotic, freedom-destroying society that was ever conceived by the brain of man, with central authority ultimately in Bakunin himself, though this may not have been stated. For the society was secret, not only secret to the public but largely secret to the general members, whose chief duty was unquestioning obedience to the command

from an unknown tribunal, communicated by the one authorized person, who himself did not know whence came the command, as it was delivered to him by a third person equally ignorant of its source. But how was this interconnection established? The working method of the organization seems not yet fully known, as the common member is the one who is deputed to do the dangerous work, and hence he is the one who generally gets caught. But he properly knows only of his own little circle of ten, or, if he be its founder, he knows of two circles. Thus, if he confesses, he has not much information to impart. Herein we come upon a leading object of the central organization: to secure itself against confession and treachery. Its method proceeds from a universal suspicion of its members, and from their own ignorance and credulity. The central circle (originally of one hundred members) start other circles, and these still other circles; all these derived circles have no connection with one another, and need not to know of one another, except in the above-mentioned case of the founder, who is the sole connecting link between two circles. Yet this connecting link is everywhere present, and forms a net-work which joins all the subordinate circles to the central one, from which the secret command can be transmitted to every individual nihilist. (See the account in Rae's book, *Contemporary Socialism*.)

Such is the society which has secretly formed itself within the social order for the purpose of destroying the social order and indeed the whole institutional world. For the Nihilist traces all human ills, moral and physical, to institutions, and so establishes an institution for their destruction. Herein what we have called Perverted Society has reached its climax and final manifestation.

Still the Nihilist at times shows signs of trying to go a step farther. Nature has an order, a system of laws; why should he not become their enemy too? Bakunin speaks of the great end of Nihilism as "universal amorphism," the destruction of all form, which would seem to involve Nature, who is the great producer of forms. He says that the Nihilist is to study physical science, mechanics, chemistry, engineering, not in order to construct anything but to destroy, apparently to undo Nature herself in an ultimate grand cataclysm, to send this blooming planet whizzing back to chaos, to that nebulous streak in which Laplace saw our globe starting on its career. Then we shall have attained, as nearly as possible, the goal of all true striving, universal amorphism.

In such utterances one can hardly help finding traces of disease. Some Russian writers have declared that Nihilism is a mental malady peculiar to Russia, a national epidemic of negation,

which has sprung from Western culture taken up by a people not yet able to assimilate it, and especially from the study of philosophy by minds which could not digest it healthily. The pathology of Nihilism in general affirms it to be a disease of education, as it has been found quite impossible to inoculate the vast multitude of ignorant Russian peasantry with its virus. Their stupidity is said to be the grand bulwark against their becoming "degenerates."

Universal Nihilism which has as its object to destroy all institutions, is now commonly known under the name of anarchism. The world of order is reduced to social chaos, the institutional organism is dissolved into its cellular mass of individual units, all in a struggle with one another, for their negative energy is just what they have developed, and is what has brought them to the present pass. Such is the ideal picture of universal negation.

But even the Nihilist does not propose to remain in this state; he too, when he has destroyed all, is going to turn positive and construct something. But what annihilation can build, has not yet been revealed. Nihilism has never told, or authoritatively tried to tell, what it was going to erect after the grand social catastrophe.

Fortunately at this point history comes to the front with its reality, and responds to the preceding downward line of social degeneration by

showing a continuous upward line of social regeneration. In thought likewise the negative must at last negate itself, which is the very process of realization. Accordingly we must next see our Social Whole, after being driven to the extremity of its descent, wheel about and rise to its present development.

### III. THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY.

We have just witnessed the outcome of the negative movement of Society, through which man is reduced to his individual might or combines in gangs or hordes for the purpose of destroying the Social Whole. Such a condition is something like what is often called the state of nature, in which every hand is raised against every other hand in the pursuit of physical desire. The civilized world is resolved back into barbarism, into pure individualism, in which violence is the law.

Such negative forces are at present existent and working in Society, and not infrequently they rise to surface and give everybody a shock at the outlook which they logically involve. We are all compelled to take a peep now and then at the universal cataclysm which seems to be approaching. A strike has sometimes stopped all travel and cut off all the conveniences of life, so that the Social Whole appears to be dissolving into its original atoms.

The atomic man, as he begins to evolve himself into Society, is next to be looked at, in his ascent from his primitive condition. For the Social Whole is found to have an ascending current as well as a descending one; it has overcome all these negative elements in times past, and has steadily risen to its present development, though some societies have been submerged in the stream, and all societies show tendencies at certain periods to revert to former and lower stages. In fact, there is always in every society an element of reversion or degeneracy, an element which seems unable to take the new step forward, but drops back into a social condition already transcended by the given age. This negative movement we have already beheld in its career downwards till it reaches what we called *Perverted Society*, in which the social end is destroyed and the social man drops back quite to his starting-point. Here, then, Evolution begins, and is seen mastering step by step the negative stages before mentioned.

The Evolution of Society, therefore, is the affirmative answer to the Revolution of Society, that is, the answer to the destructive process tending to its overthrow. Evolution appears to have just come in time to vindicate man and his Institutions, and to restore his faith in his own progress. It is man's return to himself, his restoration out of pessimism, negation, despair. Yet we must see that Evolution is not the whole

process, but a part thereof; two other stages go before it, of which it is the completion.

The Evolution of Society is, accordingly, the third stage of the grand process of social science, being the return out of social negation to the positive principle of Society, which was first unfolded. The reader will keep in mind this process of the social totality that it be seized not as a lot of chopped up abstractions, but as the living movement of the subject itself in its creative energy. Furthermore, this process is to be identified with that of the Ego itself, which is here seen producing its social counterpart — the social Ego creating the social Institution.

In like manner we have observed this process in the Family, and shall observe it in other Institutions. For the Family has also its disintegrating forces, and it has also the response and counteraction in the Evolution of the Family, which runs parallel with the Evolution of Society.

In fact, Society and Family are very closely connected; in the beginning Society is a Family. Still we must note the distinction which makes them two different Institutions in their development. The Family, as already designated, has its ultimate determining end in the reproduction of the Person as a new Free-Will in the world. Society has as its ultimate determining end the satisfaction of wants, or bodily reproduction,



which is to be accomplished through the Social Whole. The individual in Society, though this be limited to one family, has needs which he is to satisfy only through the Institution, to which, however, he must give back in some form what he takes. Primarily he must give his own (proprium, property), for what he receives.

Thus it is that Property may be deemed the axis of Society, whose development runs parallel with that of Property. Ownership is what moves through Social Evolution. Is what you have produced yours? Does your individual Will, exerting itself in production, receive its equivalent through the existent social order? If it does not, there must be a change, and the result is a development of the Social Institution from its earliest to its latest form.

The fact comes out in a surprising way that ownership does not belong to the individual in the beginning, but to the Institution. Property is held in common, and is employed to supply the common wants. Nor does the man's activity (his Will) belong to himself, but to the Social Whole. But the movement is to make Property individual, to break up social ownership. Then this tendency also falls into an excess, so that a movement sets in to limit individual ownership and to return, in part, at least, to the first stage.

As just outlined, the Evolution of Society will pass through the following stages:—

I. *Natural Communism*; Property is held in common, the Individual is immediately united with the Social Whole, to which belongs what he produces and from which he receives what he needs. Here we have social ownership of Property and indeed of Man.

II. *Individual Ownership*; this is the stage of separation and division; man separates himself from the thing and makes it his own, individually; that which was common Property is divided up and assigned to individuals, who are now owners; the land, being just the fixed and stable in its nature, is usually the last to be divided. The individual, having Property, is mediately connected with the Social Whole, which thereby assumes a different character. Moreover, the individual will not only take his own, but will begin to appropriate what belongs to the Social Whole — whence a new movement.

III. *Civic Communism (institutional)*; this will show a return to social or communal ownership in things produced by the Social Whole and belonging to it properly rather than to the individual. It is a resumption of a lapsed proprietary right in the Community, while recognizing fully individual ownership. It may be said that this is the social process which is at the present time going on with greater intensity than any other.

Sometimes this last stage is called socialistic, but the term *socialism* is properly confined to the

scheme which proposes to take all means of production for and into the Social Whole, and thus do away with individual ownership. Such a Society has never existed, and there is a question if it can exist. But the Community (with its ownership in various forms) has always existed, and is still living and at work in the world. The Evolution of the real historic Community is what we shall consider in the following account.

A remark about the terms here used. The words *communism*, *communal*, *commune* we employ as correlatives with *Community*, the real existent one, without reference to any so-called communistic scheme, which has already been treated under the head of Communistic Socialism. Civic Communism is through the Law and Institution, hence is consciously institutional, whereas Natural Communism is rather instinctively institutional, arising, as we often say, by Nature. But it is to be observed that both are institutional, the one being civic or civilized, the other being the undeveloped form of the Community.

Modern investigation has busied itself a good deal with the early forms of Society, and has unfolded their character and purpose with much success, though not a little remains to be done. Particularly the so-called Village Communities have attracted attention. They have been found in their primordial activity throughout many

countries, and numerous modern usages, especially in regard to the tenure of land, have been traced back to these primitive social arrangements.

Such studies into the origin of Society spring from a deep spiritual need of our time. The extreme ends of the great Aryan migration lasting thousands of years, Ireland and India, are found to be united not only in a common ancestral speech, but in common early Institutions and Laws. It seems to be the function of England, which belongs to the same Aryan stock, to bring together these two extremities, not only by external rule, but by fostering the inner bond of kinship. Says Sir Henry Maine (*Early History of Institutions*, p. 18): "I, myself, believe that the government of India by the English has been rendered appreciably easier by the discoveries which have brought home to the educated of both races the common Aryan parentage of Englishman and Hindoo."

Let us now seek to bring out more decidedly the preceding process by an ordering of the significant facts which belong to its various stages.

I. NATURAL COMMUNISM. There are instances of the Communism of Nature in the lower animals and even in the insects: The bee toils for the hive and not for itself directly; it does not immediately consume the sweets which it gathers by its industry, but carries them to the common

store. Its instinct is communal rather than individualistic, whereof other instances can be shown throughout Nature.

Passing at once to man, we find that in his early condition he also shows a communal instinct, as it were; he toils for some kind of society, and thus begins to show himself institutional. He has desire, but that desire is, in its chief manifestations, to be gratified not individually but through the community. He has no ownership at first in what he produces; Property does not belong to him at the start, though he begins slowly to get something which he calls his own.

Thus we behold Communism as the social starting-point of man. We call it natural as seems given by Nature herself; the individual acts in this matter instinctively, not consciously, or not in any large degree is he conscious; he is carrying out the promptings of his Nature. The members of such a community are primarily connected by blood, a natural tie; they belong nowhere else, and if they quit it, they are outcasts. They cannot change societies or even localities without losing their fundamental institutional relation, they are rooted to the spot, to the soil, they are in the vegetative period of Society.

Accordingly in Natural Communism the Institution not only owns the Property but owns the

man, he is absorbed in his Community. He is not free, nor does the Institution will his freedom, except in a very primitive degree. The result is, a process sets in toward the great end of humanity, whose destiny is to become free. Natural Communism will pass through three main stages in which it is seen getting rid of itself and moving into a higher social form.

1. *The Family Community.* Or, we might say, the Family regarded as a Community, looked at specially on its social side, not on its domestic, though the two sides are not wholly separable. The Family is the primordial unit, the institutional cell from which other Institutions spring; they all seem to be implicit in the Family originally.

The members of the Family Community are, first of all, closely united by blood, being the descendants of a known ancestor, often alive and present. In its simplest form we may conceive of it as composed of grandparents, their children and their grandchildren. It has a common dwelling, common table; the work of each individual is for the whole and he obtains his necessaries of life through the whole. Both land and movables are held in common, the Property belongs to the Family Community.

Still even here there comes to be a slight individual ownership. Each person must have some things as his own, garments are not wholly held

in common. There is a small sphere for presents which are in their very nature personal.

Such a Family Community is seen everywhere to-day. But in modern Society it begins to dissolve when the children are of age or can take care of themselves; with the death of the parents the Family splits up into its individual units, and the property is divided.

But in early Society this process does not take place. The grandfathers pass away, still the blood-tie remains, and the descendants hold together. There is the common hearth, the common worship, the common ancestor, though the families increase. Thus a group of families adhere together round a common center, quite unable to sever the original domestic bond and to declare their independence.

Still there grows up a difference from the simple Family Community, which gives to this new Community a character of its own. The group of families, though held together by the domestic bond, must begin to show its own distinct organization, and so we come to the following social form.

-2. *The House Community.* This form or stage of social development is found among all peoples; in general, the various branches of the Aryan race have passed and are still passing through it from India to Europe. Particularly the Slavonic House Community has attracted

attention in recent years and has often been described. There is, first of all, the idea of kinship, the natural tie of blood; all the members are supposed to be derived from a common ancestor. They have the one house or group of houses in the same inclosure, which is fenced off, or palisaded, or surrounded with trees. They labor in common and enjoy the produce of the soil in common. They have the common meal in the large room of the house. The separate couples have their own apartments, or often they house themselves in small independent buildings within the general inclosure. Of course there is no community of wives; it is a social community, common effort, common property, common enjoyment of this effort and its property.

One of the distinctive things in the House Community is the rise of the political element, showing a certain Democratic tendency. Every man has a voice in the conduct of affairs. The little assembly meets every day and deliberates, generally in the evening when the day's work is done, seated under a tree in the inclosure. The House Community varies much in size; it may rise to sixty or seventy persons, or drop down to ten or a dozen. Here lies a chief distinction between the simple Family Community, which was despotic, ruled by the living father, as patriarch, and the House Community, which has no



such living patriarch but has the need and tendency to rule itself.

Still there must be a chief or head of this primitive government, who, however, is elected by the members. He does the business of the Community and stands for it to the outside world. The women also have their head or house-mother with her sphere of control over the females of the community.

Such is the primitive form of the House Community in which we may see the germ of important political institutions which civilization has developed. Here is a legislative power, here is also the executive power, distinct, yet correlated. Here, too, is that social feeling which works for all, for the community, and not for the Self by itself. It is the primitive training of man as a social being, it disciplines him out of immediate gratification, out of selfish anti-social desire.

Of course there are many kinds and many stages of these House Communities. Sir Henry Maine has identified them with the Hindoo Joint Family, which has existed down to the present, through all sorts of conquests and revolutions that have swept over India for thousands of years. M. de Laveleye (in his work on *Primitive Property*) has traced it in nearly every country on the globe, and found it among peoples out of whose midst it was supposed to have vanished long ago.

The House Community may, therefore, be said

to represent a universal stage of the social development of the race. We can see the needful social discipline which it gives to selfish human nature. But like all other stages of society, its function is to develop man beyond itself; he, the limit-transcending, is not to stay forever crystallized in the routine of such a primitive social organization. It trains him to an institutional life, but does not unfold him into freedom and universality. It gets to be narrowing, confining, enslaving, and the human spirit must transcend it and move forward into a new and freer institutional form,

Sometimes the House Community dissolves into its family units; this is a case of reversion to a previous stage (the Family Community) and has been noticed to take place frequently in India. But the true evolution of the House Community is into the Village Community, which has in recent times attracted the attention of observers more than even the House Community.

3. *The Village Community.* The blood-tie, which was the strong natural bond in both the Family and the House Communities, now recedes into the background, even if it does not wholly disappear. Not the Community based on birth but on land becomes the central fact in the village, which is the new social unit before us. Strangers in blood can now be members of the Community, though their admission be difficult.

The domestic element of kinship is thus quite eliminated, and the social element of property, specially property in land, is the pivotal fact.

Still the Village Community is made up of Families not now joined together in the House Community, but rather the Family Community is the constituent. Thus we see a return to the first stage but not a relapse, inasmuch as the Family Community has become an element of a new and higher institutional form, though in its own sphere it is independent and governed absolutely by its head. The Village Community is the third and last stage of Natural Communism, since Nature, the soil, furnishes the communal bond uniting its members.

Scattered up and down the earth are many varieties of the Village Community, in many stages of development and decay; they have been traced among the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian races, but amid all differences the essential outlines are the same. The Village Community is dealing everywhere with the land question; man has passed, or at least is passing, completely out of his pastoral life into his fixed abode as a cultivator of the soil. Shall he own it or shall it own him, or determine his existence? Certainly it settles him, fastening him to one spot and into one social form. Thus the Village Community will show an inner struggle, which is at bottom that same old struggle for freedom.

In regard to property a distinction has arisen—the movables belong to the individual or to the separate families now, not to the Community. In this way a considerable sphere of private ownership has shown itself, indicative of the tendency of things. The members are getting used to having their own possessions; property individualized is becoming an important fact, a growing consciousness.

The land belonging to the Village Community is usually divided into three portions: the arable part, the pasture, and the waste or forest. The Swiss villagers, speaking of their land (*Allmend*) say: *Feld, Weide, Wald*. The arable part is still further divided into lots, of which each family obtains one for cultivation. The pasture is also divided into lots and assigned to the members of the Community, but the waste or unused portion is held in common.

Sometimes there is no partition of the soil, but it is cultivated in common, and the produce divided. Then again there is a permanent apportionment of certain parts, while other parts are held in common. More often the lots are kept by the same person for a term of years when there is a new distribution. Such a Community has a good deal of business to transact and internal matters to settle, such as the time and manner of partition, the periods of sowing and harvesting, etc. This is done by the assembly

of which all the men are members. Yet here too one may find every gradation between democracy and aristocracy.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the forms of the Village Community is that known in Russia, called the *mir*. It is a surprising fact that this system of communism prevails throughout the largest country of Europe among its agricultural population. And it is Natural Communism, a growth of Nature, as it were, a spontaneous product of the social man. This *mir* is the institutional unit of the vast Russian Empire. It alone is the proprietor of the soil of which the individual member has only the use, but does not possess. It is responsible to the lord for rent, to the government for taxes, and for so many soldiers; otherwise it is a self-governing, independent unit, endowed with an enormous vitality, truly the Russian monad or indestructible atom. Other Village Communities have dissolved, and are now dissolving, but the Russian *mir*, recognized and confirmed by the government in its autonomy, seems more stable than ever. It has resisted all attempts to make land ownership individual, and thus stands in marked contrast to Western Europe, and, on the other hand, it has resisted Nihilism, being the bulwark of the Russian Empire.

It has been much discussed whether the *mir* is an advantage or a drawback to Russia. The Rus-

sians themselves are much divided on the question (see M. de Laveleye's work on *Primitive Property*, Chap. II. and III.). It doubtless retards agriculture, but it prevents pauperism, and maintains social equality. It has met with great favor in the school of social democrats, such as Herzen and Bakunin. On the other hand the upper classes of Russia are said to be hostile to the *mir*, deeming it to be that element of the social order which keeps Russia in a backward condition.

It is interesting to note that there is one little corner of Western Europe in which the Village Community has maintained itself down to the present time. In the Forest Cantons of Switzerland there is still the social unit which retains almost unimpaired communal autonomy and communal property. The one confers upon the hardy mountaineers their political freedom, the other their social equality. But here, too, the principle of the Village Community is being stoutly assailed, and will probably vanish with time.

In Germany, France, England, Ireland the former existence of the Village Community has been brought to light by investigators. This institutional form may be said to be a universal stage through which quite every society has to pass in its development. In China, Java, India, America it has been pointed out as well as in

Europe; the countries of classical antiquity manifest the same social phenomenon.

Still the Village Community shows itself to be a transitional stage in the Evolution of Society. Individual ownership rises against it and in the most advanced nations of the world puts it down. At a certain period of its growth it begins to clog the full, free development of the individual in his march toward institutional freedom. It binds him to the soil, it makes a physical object his controller, his determinant. In the Village Community man has not yet quite severed the umbilical cord which ties him to Mother Nature. The operation may be painful, but it has to be done if the human being is ever to be a free, self-active, self-determined personality.

Such is the sphere of Natural Communism with its three prominent stages, which are not simply successive in time, but are usually in a process with one another, and of this process there are many gradations. For instance, the South Slavonians (in Turkey and Austria) are said by Sir Henry Maine (*Early Law and Custom*, Chap. VIII.) to have developed specially the House Community, but not the Village Community to any extent, while the North Slavonians (Russia) have developed the Village Community, but not the House Community. In Hindostan, however, and in other countries, both the House and the

Village Communities are present together in the same province or nation.

In social embryology, it is often a disputed question just what form is the starting-point. If the Village Community is taken as the social cell, as many do, then the Family Community must be regarded as the nucleus of the cell. The social unit will have its organization and process, and perhaps it is better to consider the entire movement of what we have termed Natural Communism as the originative principle of society when man has settled down to till the earth and to become institutional.

The three stages in the movement of Natural Communism, we may here briefly recapitulate. The Family Community has everything in common along with absolute authority in the father or patriarch. The House Community has all property in common and is composed of joint Families, though with a certain separative tendency, while self-government begins to show itself in the assembly for deliberation. The Village Community does not insist on the blood-tie, and has the tendency to give up the movables to separate ownership, while the land remains collective property. Moreover the political organization of the Village Community develops quite fully, showing deliberative, executive, and judicial functions, usually with leanings toward democratic forms of procedure.



The next great fact we observe is the gradual breaking-up and submergence of the Village Community among peoples of advancing civilization. Its foundation stone, the common property in land, is undermined, and a new social order takes its place. This is what we shall next consider.

II. INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP. This is now to become general and is specially to be applied to land, which is the last to yield itself up to be the Person's own (ownership). The soil being immovable is the least tractable to man's complete possession. The earth for a long time asserts that it owns the man, but man has finally to assert that he owns the earth. In the movement toward freedom Property has to be individualized, the personal Will must make itself real in the land as well as in the thing. The cosmos itself has to go through the crucible of the individual Ego, ere the latter can know itself as free. Already such a tendency was manifest in the movement of Natural Communism, as just shown. It may be declared that the destiny of all externality is that it be made internal, be made somebody's own. On the other hand, it is just as necessary that the internal element, the Ego, be externalized, be made a reality which it is in Property, though we would all say that Property is not the highest realization of human spirit.

Many have praised the Village Community as

the truly free Society, and have sought to return to it as to the primitive paradise of liberty. But we have already seen it is not free except in a very limited backward sense. It is exclusive, and can become very despotic (the reproach often cast upon the Russian *mir*), and is not universally human, which is the requirement of freedom in these days; it is an institutional form which does not will Free-Will absolutely, but conditionally, within its own confines and not always there.

Individual Ownership is the stage of separation from the immediate communal life, and the division of the common property belonging to the commune. The land is now assigned to the individual as his own, instead of his being assigned to the land by the community. The "shifting severalties," so well known in English law, and characteristic of the early Village Community, have ceased, which means that the center has moved from the land to the individual, who is no longer shifted about from one piece of ground to another, but is himself the determining principle of the soil. We may make a comparison between this change and the change from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican theory, in which the human mind passed from regarding the earth as the center of the Solar System and took the sun as that center. In like manner we may deem Natural Communism to be geocentric, till individual own-

ership breaks it up and places the determining point in the human Ego, which thus becomes analogically heliocentric.

Still Individual Ownership is not the finality; it will show limitation, and will develop an excess which will call forth a new institutional form for the purpose of curbing its destructive tendencies. Individualism with its unbridled self-appropriation evokes mightier negative forces in Society than simple Natural Communism, which after all is a rather innocent paradisaical thing, suitable to the needs of a primitive agricultural community.

The transition to Individual Ownership of the soil out of earlier social forms has been an exceedingly long and slow one, with many variations in different parts of the globe. Here we can only notice three stages in the historical movement of Europe, which show a connected development in this field from antiquity down to the present.

1. *Classical Antiquity.* In both Greece and Rome there are many evidences of a period of Natural Communism antecedent to the historical period of Individual Ownership, as it is known to us in ancient literature. In fact, Natural Communism leaves little or no written record of itself; its documents are chiefly tradition, it is inconsistent with letters and with education, which develop the individual. Already in Homer we see that land is not common; the village of Ithaca

has nothing to do with the estate of Ulysses, which is despoiled by the suitors; it is wholly his private property. Far otherwise would the situation have been if Ithaca had been a Village Community with soil undivided.

Still Greek legend has not let the earlier period die, but has transmitted fair pictures of the Golden Age, when lands were common and undivided, when the earth brought forth her fruits for all equally. This was during the ancient rule of Saturn, before the advent of Jupiter and the new Gods with their new order. So all classic literature from Hesiod down looked back upon a past blissful epoch when there was neither wealth nor poverty, because there was no such thing as ownership. Particularly Virgil and the later Roman poets sang of that antique time with a melancholy longing, and hoped for and could even prophesy its return, oppressed as they were with the bitter conflict between the rich and the poor, which was the destructive canker of their age.

Another striking fact looking in the same direction is found in Plato, who sought to reconstruct the institutions of his time, especially in his *Republic* and in his *Laws*. In both these works are many social arrangements which strikingly recall Natural Communism, and leave little doubt that Plato drew upon the reality for his suggestions in numerous instances. That reality was

both past and present; he had only to look at the rustic outlying backward communities of Hellas in his own time to see what had been the past of Athens. The *Republic* of Plato is usually supposed to be an ideal product of his imagination, but it is a looking backward more than a looking forward, a return to the old more than a construction of the new.

Moreover, history has a word to say in this matter, though not as certain as it might be. There is a general statement among Greek writers that Theseus, the supreme Athenian hero, unified Attica. What does this mean? Before his time the country was split up into a number of independent families and clans; he brought them under one government and founded the greatness of Athens. There can be little doubt that this signifies the transition out of the House Community and the Village Community into the City proper, which becomes the center of ancient civilization. In like manner Rome was formed by the coalescence of several Village Communities, which was the work of its heroic founder.

Thus the ancient City is an evolution out of the Village Community, which thereby loses its essential characteristic, common property in land. But a new conflict takes its place — the struggle of the rightless for rights, of the Plebs versus the Patricians, of the Demus versus the Eupatrids. The result is the triumph of the popular side;

not only is individual property acknowledged, but individual right also; universal citizenship was proclaimed at Rome about the time of the emperor Caracalla.

2. *Feudalism.* In the vast Roman Empire individual ownership of land had worked itself out to its extreme negative conclusion. A few proprietors owned substantially the soil of Italy which was cultivated by slaves mainly. The independent cultivator of the land, who owned himself and the ground he tilled, had quite disappeared, and with him the Roman conqueror of the World. The body of the people, through the operation of individual ownership in land, had lost all ownership in land.

Such was the general situation when a new order began to appear. The Northern Barbarians, mostly of Teutonic descent, came down upon the Roman Empire and conquered it, for it was already conquered internally. Where were its defenders? Certainly the masses could not be interested in the maintenance of such a social system.

Now these Northern Peoples brought with them into the conquered lands, their own supreme social institution which was the Teutonic Mark, or the Village Community. These Teutons were Aryans, and they had this old Aryan institution, which still maintained a certain form of common ownership of land, and which we have already

seen to be the early social principle of both Greece and Rome. Thus civilized antiquity, after the development of a thousand years, is whirled back to its beginning and compelled to take a fresh dip into the fountain-head of its own institutional origin. The Teutonic conquerors were quite in the condition of Attica in the time of Theseus and of Rome in the time of Romulus. So we may say that the Village Community after being conquered and suppressed by Individual Ownership in land, rises and conquers in turn.

The result, however, will be not destruction, but a coalescence and intergrowth of the two principles which will give rise to what is known as Feudalism. Again land will determine the man, his social and political status, and yet it will not be held in common. The Feudal System will have both Roman and Teutonic elements, it will be a commingling of individualistic and communistic principles. The ownership of land will vest in an individual, not in a community; yet the owner, just through his tenure of the land, is bound to certain services and takes a certain social position. These services, again, belong not to the community but to an individual, to the lord paramount. Thus the common land of the Village Community was subjected to individual ownership, and individual ownership of land in turn was subjected to a superior or a series of superiors.

culminating in the king, who was himself subjected to the System. The result was that society was composed of a succession of layers, one over the other from bottom to top, the principle of stratification being the tenure of land, which became of many kinds.

The conquest of the Roman Empire by the Germanic tribes was not a mere predatory incursion of a barbarous horde, but it was a great migration of peoples who took with them their wives and little ones, their herds, household goods and gods, as well as their weapons; especially did they carry along, for they could not help it, their social and political organization, which they superposed upon the old civilization of the conquered territory. That civilization had held sway for a thousand years, speaking in round numbers. This new system of Feudalism is to develop and rule in Europe for another thousand years, speaking in round numbers (very round in this case).

The characteristic of Feudalism is the social and political separation of men and their division into classes whose rank is determined by something external, by the way they hold their land. Yet it is undeniable that the Feudal System was a necessity of the time, it did its part toward saving ancient civilization, which it rejuvenated socially by engrafting upon it the Village Community, an Institution belonging to the youth of



society. It is the custom in some quarters to abuse Feudalism, and it is superannuated for the advanced nations of the world; still it should be appreciated in the great historic succession of social Institutions.

We must, however, see that the Feudal System at last becomes hostile to freedom and progress. The rise of the Free Cities was an important step beyond Feudalism, and it cannot endure the modern industrial spirit. But its most terrible trial, the most furiously vindictive blow that it or any Institution ever received may be noticed.

3. *The French Revolution.* Innumerable causes have been assigned for the French Revolution, but Feudalism is seldom omitted from their number, though given different degrees of importance. The peasantry which cultivated the soil of France sought to get rid of the feudal dues which they were compelled to pay to the nobility through the tenure of land. This tenure was mainly what is known in English Law as Copyhold, hence a distinguished English lawyer declares that "the French Revolution took place because a great part of the soil of France was held on a Copyhold Tenure."

Already we have noticed that the Feudal System sprang from the Teutonic Mark or Village Community being transformed through Individual Ownership into the medieval Manor or Fief with its personal service on the one side, and its indi-

vidual tenure of the land on the other. It is well known that the Roman Law greatly assisted the barbarous conquerors of the Roman Empire to bring about this transformation, through its insistence upon the right of private property. The stress given to Individual Ownership is felt in those two words of the Roman Law, *sum cuique*, which have been sometimes declared to contain its essence. Now it is this personal service in the form of feudal dues connected with the cultivation of the soil which the French Revolution smote with such unparalleled vengeance. For it was not sated till the noblesse who held these feudal claims were not only deprived of them but were driven from France or done to death by the guillotine. The Revolution was not a Parisian affair merely, as it seems on its face; its flames were fed by the peasants who never stopped till they made their land free of its feudal burdens. Throughout the greater part of rural France the skies were red with burning castles and mansions of nobles to which the peasantry set fire in order to consume, it is said by historians, the titles and other evidences of feudal claims upon the soil.

The same change took place in other countries, but without such a tremendous explosion. It took place in England quite gradually and peacefully. Sir Henry Maine has devoted an interesting Chapter (*Early Law and Custom*, C. IX.) to showing why the abolition of the same kind

of land tenure (the Copyhold) produced a revolution in France and no disturbance at all in England. The result, however, was the same in both countries, the practical end of Feudalism.

Thus modern civilization has returned to complete Individual Ownership in land, such as we noted in ancient civilization. Greece and Rome are much nearer to us socially than our own Teutonic ancestors with their Mark, even nearer to us than the Feudal Ages with their peculiar social system. The Renaissance made us acquainted with the classic world in its literary, artistic, and also political aspects. But only in recent years do we seem to know Greece and Rome socially; thus modernity and antiquity are shaking hands across the centuries with a fresh and deeper acquaintance.

Still the other element has not been inactive. France in particular has been prolific of communistic schemes since the Revolution, which fact indicates a strong reaction in many minds against the excessive individualism of that event. Thus we see likewise a return to early communism, modified of course to suit modern conditions. So vital and perdurable is that primordial social cell of the human race, the Village Community: we behold it rising and reproducing itself, ideally if not really, in the very heart of modern civilization. It has not yet come as a conqueror as it did to the Roman Empire, nor

will, it probably; but it has doubtless still a part to play in social development.

III. CIVIC COMMUNISM. Our age is the bloom of Individual Ownership in land and in all other things. The exploitation of the personal factor of humanity is the fact and probably the vocation of our era. The old world has broken or is breaking down the barriers to specialized possession of the soil by man, and the new world has never allowed them to be put up. The result is a marvelous conquest of whole continents through individual energy, primarily seen in agriculture, then in the means of transportation and intercommunication (railroad, telegraph, etc.), then in commercial and industrial expansion.

Moreover all political discrimination against the individual is substantially broken down. Equality before law is the universal law of the new civilization; equal opportunity for every man is secured as far as the State can secure it, and political power is largely put into the hands of the people. The age of the political tyrant seems to be quite past; we read of him in ancient and medieval history, when he was often a success, that is, a natural outgrowth of the time, and often doubtless a blessing.

Still, along with this political equality has risen a social inequality — the inequality in the ownership of property — which, if not already, soon will be, the greatest that ever existed in any time

or country. The individual, turned loose into a free world and permitted to the fullest extent to realize his capacity or incapacity, especially in the matter of acquiring wealth, will show every grade of inequality from the slum-dweller to the billionaire. Not society but the free-acting Self is what creates the unequal distribution of property, at least this is its primary source.

The present fact, which is fundamental, we may unfold a little. First of all, there is a difference in talent, which is sure to reflect itself in what each person produces. One man has great power of combination and foresight, another has almost none. In truth, the chief cause of poverty is improvidence, a personal, not a social matter. In the second place there is the difference in education, which also tells greatly upon the value of effort. Hence the School is the grand social equalizer, created and maintained by Society, to level as far as possible all inequality. In the third place there is the difference in aim and ambition, when talent and education may be quite the same, and this too produces inequality of wealth. Of two men equally gifted by nature, and equally educated, one may have the ambition to be a money-getter, and the other to be a schoolmaster. It is not the fault of the social system if, after twenty years' time, the one is rich and the other poor. Each has gotten his own, the result of his own

choice, the fruits of his own vocation. The one has spent his days upon man-building, the other upon fortune-building; each has attained within limits his end, and that is his reward. Any interference with this result, any transfer of the reward of the one to the other from the outside is a violation of personal liberty.

Thus the world of individuals endowed with equal opportunity and political equality, is bound to bring forth the most complete social inequality just through individual freedom. Each individual must be allowed to unfold his own selfhood, expressing it in the acquisition of property as in other things; hence the inequality in wealth and in other things, such as knowledge and wisdom.

At this point we may see the chief mistake of the majority of social reformers. They leave out or discredit the subjective factor; they seem to think that every man is made after the one pattern, that all are the same in natural ability, education and ambition, not to speak of other differences. They look into dark corners and behold wretched poverty; at once they begin an onslaught upon society in which such a thing can occur and never think to inquire: Is or is not this miserable condition the result of man's own free act? Shall we take away his freedom and compel him not to be poor? Political liberty and equality lead to social inequality, for they bring

to the surface and make valid all the diverse phases of individuality. The incapable must show their incapacity just as brilliantly as the capable show their capacity; in this respect freedom is far more remorseless than paternalism. When we find an institution which can bring us equality of talent or of wisdom, then we can have equality of wealth or at least its equivalent. The difficulty, then, is primarily not social, but psychological. The reformer is inclined to flatter poverty, making it believe that it has had no hand in its own existence, but that this is caused by society or possibly by the rich man. Our time has witnessed the flowering of what may be called social demagoguery, the counterpart of political demagoguery, which is still alive but seems not so flourishing as it once was.

But now for the other side. There is no doubt that wealth can become and does become grasping, tyrannical, negative to the very social order whence it sprang. The free individual, unfolding through his freedom and amassing vast properties can and does use them not infrequently to the detriment of the freedom of others. At this point Individual Ownership has become self-destructive; the free individual, in the untrammelled pursuit of private gain, uses the liberty which he has enjoyed and employed, to assail and destroy that same liberty in others. That is, Free-Will, instead of securing Free-Will, has

become negative to Free-Will and thus is anti-institutional. For, as we may recollect, the positive Institution is actualized Free-Will, which returns and secures itself.

Thus Individual Ownership must be followed or transformed and corrected by another institutional form which we have here called Civic Communism. We observe that this is in one way a return to Communism, yet not to Natural Communism. The Community must again hold property, especially must it take possession of its own property, determining slowly, carefully, justly what is its own property. For the free Individual in exploiting his freedom of acquisition, has also appropriated the Community's wealth. Still Individual Ownership in its rightful sphere is not to be jeopardized, but is to be the more carefully confirmed and secured because of this limitation put upon it in new social arrangements. But where it has become destructive of freedom, and indeed self-destructive, it must be saved from itself.

The use of the word *Communism* in the present connection is to be attentively observed. It does not mean Communism of wives or of goods, to which it is often applied; nor does it mean Communism of land. Its root lies in the Civil Community, in the town, city, State; hence we call it Civic Communism, signifying that the said Civil Community holds its own property for the



benefit of all its members. Thus there is communal property, but just as well individual property.

One of the leading social questions of the time, if not absolutely the one great question, pertains to this resumption of communal ownership. It is deeply fermenting in the spirit of the age, and is showing itself under many diverse forms, chiefly in the way of theory, not, however, without taking certain practical shapes. Civic Communism is gradually crystallizing itself; we may here designate certain general phases which have already manifested themselves in its process.

1. There are writers of power and influence who advocate a return to the Village Community with its reservation of communal land. These writers cannot endure the thought of inequality in property which they deem the Satanic destroyer of all happiness and of modern civilization. Hence they advise flight—rapid flight back to that primitive Eden, the Village Community, which man has lost through the insidious intrusion of the serpent, Individual Ownership in land. Undoubtedly in such a return, there must be some alterations of the original Eden, there must be some adjustment to the new-comers who cannot be expected to throw off at once their civilized habits and the inherited ideas of centuries.

The most interesting and instructive of these writers, as far as we have read, is M. Emile de

Laveleye in his book on *Primitive Property*, published some twenty years ago. Says he: "In every commune a portion of territory should be reserved and divided in temporary possession among all the families, as is done in the forest cantons of Switzerland." He advises the new communities forming in America and Australia to shun Individual Ownership in land, "the strict and severe right of property borrowed from Rome," in order to avoid the evils of feudalism, absolutism, and demagogueism. He can only see the destruction of liberty, if social inequality is allowed to continue, and through his whole book runs an elegiac undertone of melancholy regret as he looks back from modern civilization to the Village Community which forms the main subject of his work. M. de Laveleye takes the old Teutonic Mark in its Swiss form, as the social unit to which we should return, of course with certain modifications.

Other writers have bid us look to the Slavonic Village Community as the healing principle of the social ills of Western civilization. Not a few Russian writers maintain that the Slavonic race is to be the new regenerator of Europe. As the Germanic tribes came down upon effete antiquity, and rejuvenated it with the Teutonic Mark, so Russia with its *mir* is to perform a like work for the modern world. Back we must go again to the social beginnings of man for a fresh plunge

into the fountain of youth, this time the Slavonic fountain. The future of Europe belongs to us, says Pan-Slavism.

I do not know whether anybody has suggested that we push still further to the East, and try the Hindoo Village Community as the remedial source of our social woes. Some Western folks are returning to India for their religion, for Buddhism and for Theosophy. Some others may be inclined to go thither for their social institutions.

There is great difficulty in adopting the Village Community in any form. Its people have essentially but one vocation, that of agriculture. A few artisans may exist among them, but no diversified industry. Modern society calls forth many vocations and develops many talents besides that of tilling the soil and simple artisanship. Still we must not underrate this thought of man's returning upon himself and beginning over again at the social starting-point, when he thinks he has gone wrong, and we may well take a lesson from the persistence of that original unit of human association, the Village Community, and its power of rising and reproducing itself in men's souls after centuries of suspended activity. I do not look upon these ideal schemes as meaningless, they are deeply hintful, and show the leaven that is working in the time, being prognostications of the coming order.

Modern society, turned back into the Village

Community, however widened the latter may be for its reception, would have to give up its principle of individual exploitation; the grand diversity of talent and vocation would have to be somehow leveled down if not destroyed. The just freedom of the individual would certainly suffer in any such process — at least that freedom as conceived by Anglo-Saxon peoples. Hence these have had their own prophet in the present sphere.

2. The dualism between the individual and the community is now to be fully acknowledged, and each is to be assigned to its own realm where it is to be granted everything that rightfully belongs to it. Thus what we have called Civic Communism assumes a new phase in the movement of social reform; the Civil Community (town, city, State) is not only to own but also to take back all property in land, to resume the ownership of the soil, which it had in the Village Community, and of other values quite unknown to primitive society. On the other hand the individual is to be left as free as ever (unless indeed he be a landholder); in fact, he is to be liberated from certain burdens which encumber his present activity, for instance taxation.

Many thinkers have pointed out the difference between property in land, which is not the product of man's will, and property in other things which are products of man's will. John Stuart Mill

more than questions the right of private ownership in the soil, and Herbert Spencer assails it strongly in his *Social Statics*. But the man who above all others has enforced this phase of Civic Communism is Henry George. He gave his life to its propagation; his books tell it to the people, who have read them throughout the English-speaking world. To him chiefly must be ascribed the fact that modern communal ownership, as just described, has become a permanent part of Anglo-Saxon consciousness, which, as yet subjective and internally fermenting, has nevertheless begun slowly but very perceptibly to realize itself in new forms of Civic Communism.

George's scheme has difficulties which render it impossible to be adopted; at certain points it violates established rights to such a degree that it becomes repugnant to the sense of justice in most men. At the same time it shows forth with convincing clearness and emphasis the proprietary right of the Civil Community upon which Individual Ownership has encroached to the injury of society and to the detriment of individual freedom. Thus George's doctrine has, as is usually the case, both a positive and a negative element, and therein becomes contradictory and self-destructive; in one part it assails established right in order to establish right in another part, both parts belonging to the social system.

So the question rises whether this negative

element can be eliminated or corrected, and the positive element introduced into the social movement without violating vested rights. This brings up a new and indeed the latest phase of Social Evolution, to which as the final outlook upon the future a few words may be given.

3. The communal Will is not to despoil the individual Will, nor is the individual Will to despoil the communal Will; both are integral elements of the social order, and each is not only to allow passively the other to exist, but is positively to secure this existence. No spoliation of the individual by the community or of the community by the individual; on the contrary, each is directly to protect and to promote the other. Or, to express this thought psychologically, the two Wills, the communal and the personal, the universal and the individual, are to will each other and thus make themselves truly institutional. So the man becomes on his side ethical, he wills actualized Free-Will, which is the institution, the community, while the latter on its side returns to him and secures his Free-Will. All this has reference here to property, which is a realization of Will, be it communal or personal.

Such is the general principle, which has, however, quite a distance to travel, before it can become the complete fact. The increased value of the soil and of other things, which results from communal activity, should belong to the

community, which ought not to be despoiled of it by the individual, as is too often the case. Franchises which are really a form of communal property should not be disposed of to private parties without adequate compensation to the community, their owner.

One may well ask what has caused the community thus to abandon its ownership, which in former times was acknowledged and defended in law. There can be hardly a doubt that it is one pernicious result of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* which permeated Europe in recent times. The legislative theory of Bentham, which has had great influence throughout all Anglo-Saxondom, throws quite everything to the individual, and hamstring the community as owner. Undoubtedly this kind of legislation has had its important work to perform in delivering the individual from former legal restrictions placed on his freedom. Among other things it has secured religious toleration and economic liberty by wiping out old ecclesiastical and sumptuary laws. But in order to serve personal freedom, it has announced the universal doctrine of non-interference with the individual; the State is to do nothing, its attitude toward the economic world must be largely passive. Thus the communal Will as manifested in town, city, State, was shoved into the background by the thinker, by the legislator, and by public opinion, while the individual Will, turned

loose in a new world, reared among other wonders the colossal structure of modern industrialism. This excessive indulgence of individualism has called forth evils which have led to a decided reaction toward a new assertion of the communal Will.

Legislation has found it necessary to drop its former principle of non-interference in the laws relating to child-labor, and to impose restrictions of various kinds in the commercial and industrial spheres. The community has discovered that it must interfere for the individual against the individual in this great modern struggle of individuality. In the matter of education, sanitation, protection of many communal interests, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* is decidedly set aside.

It is worth while to observe that there are certain public questions round which the battle between the communal and the individual Wills specially rages, with victory sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. This is particularly true of the temperance question, which cannot settle itself; or if it does settle itself in any given community (town, city, State), it has usually a tendency to unsettle itself in that same community. Such a result does not spring wholly from the power of the liquor dealer, as is often said, but rather from the uncertainty of the citizen, who, not interested in the liquor traffic and not addicted to drink, questions the right of the



communal Will to interfere with the individual Will in enacting the so-called temperance laws. Evidently here lies a borderland not yet decisively won by either of the contesting sides.

Still, in general, the present tendency is toward a more positive exercise of the communal Will, as the guarantee of a higher freedom. The means of transportation and intercommunication (the railroad, the telegraph and telephone), are in their nature communal, and in the end will have to reckon with the communal Will in its institutional form; exactly how, the future must settle. Already street railroads are owned and operated by some cities, and every city is considering the problem. Franchises are no longer to be thrown away or used as a means of corruption. Such is the trend of the time.

On the other hand there is not the remotest likelihood of even a partial return to the old Village Community, though in one way we are going back to communal ownership. Nor is there any probability of a resumption of the land by the community. Indeed all the land of the earth, even that which is still unoccupied, seems destined to pass through the crucible of Individual Ownership. And for this a good reason is apparent: the energy of man is called forth in its highest potency by his personal interest; the soil must be his own as well as the fruits of his toil, if he is to do his best. To the untrammelled tenure

of land by the individual is doubtless due the brilliant agricultural conquest of North America. And the same thing is happening in other parts of the globe. Evidently the free man is going to possess the soil and not be possessed by it in any shape.

There is to be communal ownership, but it is realizing itself in a different way from that conceived by M. de Laveleye and Henry George. Still these men will always be remembered and honored for their services in the general cause of the Community's rights, even if the stream does not run in their channel.

Thus the grand movement of Society has completed its cycle, which, however, is not stationary, but in the perpetual process of development. Manifestly, we have come back to our starting-point which was Positive Society, whose evolution we have just traced, after witnessing its negative descent. But this does not mean that the circle is closed and that the movement stops. We reached the point in which the civil Community is calling for a new communal ownership, which is to be established, confirmed and secured by Law. But who, what makes the law? Here we have the call for the State, the next great secular Institution, whose special function is to secure the free-acting Will through Law. The social Will in every form must finally invoke the State as its protector, as that Institution which

is to make it actual. Thus Society presupposes the State for its existence on the one hand, and on the other passes over into the State as the next higher form of institutional development.

*Some Observations on Society.* We have now seen that the three fundamental stages in the movement of Society are the Positive or normally existent, the Negative or descending, and the Evolutionary or ascending. We have also seen that they are not stages fixed and separate, but in a continual process with one another, which process is necessarily psychical, being that of the very Self which produces Society. This same order we have already found in the Family.

1. We may now look back and verify the statement made at the beginning of the present chapter, that Society turns upon *the willed Product* with its manifold development and transformation, culminating in the universal middleman (not yet quite universal but rapidly tending thitherwards). This willed Product, becoming more and more complicated, is finally the all-willed Product, which Society is to mediate both in its production and its distribution. With this mediation of the willed Product all the great social conflicts of the time are connected — round it move social revolution as well as social evolution. Its name leads us back to the Will as the source of the social order, whose scientific development should, accordingly, be psychological.

2. The willed Product is, in general, Property, the object into which the Will has put itself, and through which it has its first real existence. Proudhon, the socialist, seeking to do away with the present form of Society, showed his perspicacity in centering his attack upon Property, that is, individual ownership of it. "Property is theft," is his famous declaration, which concentrates in one keen sentence the fundamental faith of socialism.

3. The man whom we have above designated as the social Monocrat, is the most interesting figure in the civilized world to-day. The people of both continents are looking at him with a kind of awe, wondering what will develop out of him next. No President of a Republic, no King or Emperor attracts the gaze and provokes the speculation of mankind like our Monocrat. Three or four of them have attained colossal proportions which are beginning to reach around the globe. And the curious fact about this matter is that he is the product of Democracy, to which Monocracy seems to be the rising counterpart and fulfillment. One might think that the political Monarch and the social Monocrat belong together; not so, however. Socialism as such cannot evolve itself practically in the Social Whole; it has been, is, and will probably continue to be a doctrine, an ideal scheme. But Monocracy is here, and in possession, socially evolved and at

work in the world, born doing while socialism is still talking.

4. It is the Monocrat who is forcing communal ownership as the counterpoise to himself, and is destroying the last vestige of the old doctrine of *laissez-faire*. He is compelling the State to be a positive Institution, to take hold actively and to secure Free-Will, and not to look on idly and let things run their own course. Unquestionably the Monocrat is a direct and legitimate product of social evolution, and so has supremely the right to be. Yet he may abuse his right and become a tyrant, establishing a social, if not a political, despotism. Here, then, is the loud call for the State to safeguard freedom against him; still it is not to destroy him, but rather to secure him on his positive side. The social Monocrat has come to stay, as he fulfills a legitimate social function, that of the universal unification of man as a social being, not through the revolution, but through the evolution of the Social Order.

5. As yet the social Monocrat is purely individual in his work, is seeking his own personal gain. Is this the end of him, or is he being evolved for another and higher social purpose? We think that he is in training for becoming the recognized institutional administrator of the Social Whole, which is finally to choose him in some way. At present he seizes his power through his talent and uses it for himself auto-

eratically; but he is to rise out of this individualistic condition, and work for all socially, and not simply for himself. He will administer the social Institution, not from the outside, but from the inside, being an organic constituent thereof, and as such his end will be the ultimate end of all Institutions, the actualizing of freedom in the world. His authority will no longer be capricious or even patriarchal, but institutional, perchance constitutional, like the President of the United States. A federated social world might make him its chief. For such exalted service he would receive adequate compensation, which, however, is not to be altogether settled by himself for himself. It would seem that the coming communal ownership is already calling for him, and he is now in the process of preparation for his future institutional vocation.

6. Thus the Social Monocrat would be no longer dangerous to freedom, at least not more than any ruler. In fact, his supreme function would be to secure to the social individual a higher freedom than has ever been possible without him. Every man must obey the Social Whole, not as a slave, but as a freeman, who surrenders his arbitrary Will and receives through the Institution his own Free-Will sanctioned by all and not by himself alone. Such a Free-Will the Social Monocrat may be able to make more valid than ever it was before, since he is not necessa-

rily confined by national limits, but can be in his way a kind of world-ruler.

7. The new movements and conflicts of the Social Whole have found and are finding decided expression of themselves in art and literature. The modern novel in particular has busied itself with the collisions in this sphere, and has repeatedly sought to portray a workman's Paradise, as well as his Inferno; we read too of the Temple of Labor and the Palace of Industry. But architecture has actually built the multiplicity of the social Product in these days into the so-called High Building, which is indeed the architectonic image of the Social Monocrat both in its external colossality and in its manifold internal divisions. Sculpture has come down from its Greek Olympus, and instead of revealing a God, presents to us the stalwart form of the digger. Even more emphatically is Painting adjusting itself to the new social movement.

8. At present the social Monocrat is his own steward or administrator, not that of Society, at least not institutionally so. He may give or not, he may will freedom or not, quite as he pleases. Hence he must be put under the law of the State, first of all, then he with his social power and ability may well become an integral portion of the State, and can be brought to will Free-Will not subjectively according to caprice, but objectively through the Institution, in whose administration he will naturally take part.

### CHAPTER THIRD.— THE STATE.

The third phase of the secular institutional world has been already designated as the State or the political Institution. In it we behold a new form of the Self institutionalized, which signifies, in general, that the individual is not merely to execute his Will immediately, but mediately, through the Institution whose function is to return to the individual and secure his Will. Already we have observed this fact in the two previous secular Institutions, domestic and social. But the political Institution manifests the same general fact in its own peculiar way: it returns to the individual Will and secures it *through the Law*, which is the expressed and enforced command of the State having just this end, namely, to secure the individual Will, which



in its turn must secure the State. Thus is the individual as such institutionalized by the State with its Law. Or we may say he is made universal in his conduct through the Law, is civilized or made a citizen (*civis*), and can live in a civil order with other citizens, who also will the Law, which thus expresses the universal Will. The institutional man as secular bears in himself the three stages: he is husband or father (domestic), he is worker (social), he is citizen (political).

The State is, accordingly, a secular Institution (as distinct from the religious one), since it makes actual the individual Will in its first or immediate phase, not yet broken or separated within itself, which latter form the religious Institution actualizes. Here we must carefully draw an important distinction. The secular Institution demands also obedience to itself; the State subordinates the individual Will to law and authority, and the individual Will subordinates itself to the same, yet always in order to secure and make actual itself as immediate; but the religious Institution demands the broken and contrite heart, the self-surrender to the Divine Will.

The State is the highest secular Institution, since it is the most complete embodiment and institutional counterpart of the Ego, the self-conscious, the self-knowing and self-willing. The State is a Will, objective, existent in the world,

a Will also knowing itself as Will which is to will the Free-Will of the Individual, and is to utter this fact of itself through the Law. The State, however, is not an Ego or Person, but is functioned by the Person, yet not in his individual capacity, but as the universal Will which knows itself and expresses itself as universal in the Law. All this has to be done, undoubtedly, by a self-conscious Ego, an individual Person, who, however, stands for and voices and executes the Will as universal.

The rudest State has some kind of authority, that authority must be aware not only that it is Will (such as the individual) but also that it is to will Will impersonally or impartially, without regard to any so-called personal considerations. Authority is exercised by a Person who is to make himself impersonal, and is to rule not for his own personal advantage or that of any other Person in opposition to the public good. First of all he is to voice the Law, and through it to come back to the individual Person, whose Will must be passed through the universal alembic before it can be made valid. Not every desire or act of Will need be explicitly legalized, or judicially sanctioned in order to be carried out; still the good citizen will seek to fulfill no wish which is not legal, or at least implicitly affirmed by the Law.

Every act of the individual Will implies the

State, and, if carried out to its complete consequences, would create the State. This is a thought which a student of the present subject may well develop for himself. The simplest act of his Will is his Self objectified, which means not merely that he makes some object into which he puts himself, but that his Will makes an object which is itself Will, Will existent and active in the world outside of him, whose purpose is to will Will, which purpose is consciously formulated in the Law of the State, or Statutory Law. The process of the Will is therein completely objectified in a new form of Will uttering itself in a command whose sole content is itself as Will. The State, therefore, is not to be abolished as long as men have Wills, being not simply their realization in a thing or a deed but their actualization in an objective universal Will which asserts its universality in the Law and its supremacy over all individual Wills through the Law.

Thus in the State we say that the individual is for the first time truly actual, he actually or lawfully exists, his being in the world is secured and guaranteed by the Law. Previously he existed naturally, even if innocently; the State seals with its legality Family and Society, securing both and elevating both into universality through the Law. As long as man is merely caprice, merely subjective or individual Will, he is not complete, he is not free; he gets possession of

his Free-Will only through the State, which truly authorizes it, gives to it authority even over himself. Man must act lawfully, his Will must be willed authoritatively; otherwise he is not free or merely free subjectively, not objectively and universally. Institutional freedom is the great end of man, but institutional freedom itself is not complete till it be affirmed by the State commanding it by the Law.

We have already in the two previous chapters set forth and dwelt upon the universal element both in Family and in Society. They have also an individual Will whose end is to bring out what is universal. In the Family, however, this universal element is instinctive, unconscionable, based on sexual impulse, which drives the individual into the domestic Institution. An instinct (or Will in an immediate natural form) it is, which is also possessed by the lower orders of creation.

In the Social Order this universal element is recognized by every individual member; he recognizes that he must give his labor (the product of his Will) in order to get the product of his neighbor's Will. In this recognition lies the possibility of Property; but the recognition is subjective, individual as yet, merely moral, till the State steps in and enforces the same by Law, carries out and makes actual that recognition of the individual Will. My moral duty is to recognize others' Property, but if I do not, the State

(or the universal Will actually at work in the world) must compel me. I have no choice in the matter, except the choice of being good or bad.

It is true that all Institutions have in them a command — a command from the actualized institutional Will to the individual who belongs to the membership. The Family or domestic Institution commands me (the parent or child) to obey its behest; Society or the social Institution commands me (the co-worker in it) to follow its principle. But the State, the political Institution commands me (the citizen) through the Law which is the preceding commands of Family and Society formulated, adjudicated and executed — wherein we see at work the special Institution (the State) whose function is to make valid the principle of other Institutions. The Family alone cannot vindicate the Law of the Family. Society alone cannot enforce the Law of Society. The institutional Will must have an Institution whose supreme object is to secure that Will. Thus the State is the Institution which safeguards all other Institutions, itself included. The implicit Law in Family and Society is to become the explicit Law of the State, which has to utter it (the Law), to bring it home to the consciousness of the people, and to administer it impartially to all.

The State has, therefore, not only to make but

to make known the Law, which thereby becomes conscious and explicit in the mind of the people. Law has its primal source in the spirit of the time and the nation, but is then merely potential, subjective, conceived but not born; the State has to evoke it from such a condition, to formulate it, and to set it to work in the world. Still further, the State is to publish the Law, so that the individual can act always in view of it, so that his Will can know and consciously will the universal Will. The Law may be called the language of the State, through which the State not only imparts its commands, but also becomes in a sense conscious of itself, or self-knowing, similar to the Ego, whose essential act is also to be self-knowing. Herein, too, we may see why the deepest comprehension of the State must be psychological, as it is an institutional counterpart of the Ego objectified even in the latter's self-conscious action. The State, therefore, has to actualize the individual Will not simply as generic (as in the Family), not simply as physically reproductive (as in Society), but as a self-knowing Will through the Law. By means of the State expressing its institutional commands in the Law, which the individual hears and understands, he comes to know himself as universal Will which wills expressly the Will of all, and so renders institutional life possible. And from the same point of view the State is to get the implicit

actualized Will out of Family and Society and utter the same, thus making it explicit and conscious to its participants, who become thereby fully responsible for its violation, and also more profoundly free through the knowledge of what secures their freedom.

The State on one side may be looked at as a development out of the Family, as the latter has the authority of the parent, who naturally and immediately utters the Law of the Family, which primordially was the ultimate Law. Thus we have the early Patriarchate in which Family and State are not yet differentiated. But the inherent movement of Free Will separates the State from the domestic Institution and gives to it its own special function, which is to make the Law universal, whereas in the Family the Law is individual, being uttered and administered directly by the paternal ruler, according to his own insight or caprice. Undoubtedly the Law has always to be administered by an individual, but not in his own right; it must be passed through the crucible of the State, formulated and made universal, ere the individual as judge or executor can apply it to the individual again. Of course in the Family or in the early Patriarchate the individual father or patriarch declares and executes the Law immediately, that is, without the above-mentioned mediation of the State.

The ancient law-giver represented a great ad-

vance in the unfolding of the State toward its supreme end, which is to actualize Free-Will in and through the Law. He is the one with whom the ancient States properly begin their organic political life; he reduces a mass of humanity composed of struggling individuals, families and clans to his Law, which he utters and usually writes down, and then administers till it becomes ingrained in the consciousness of his people. He is the Law-giver because he first of all separates his individual Will from the universal Will and establishes the latter as the Law which all are to obey, since thereby each and all can have what is their own without strife. Deservedly famous are such men in the record of the World's History; they organize the State (*civitas*), train its citizens (*cives*), and through both bring forth civilization, which is begotten and advanced through the State.

The old Greeks, that most fertile of all peoples intellectually, produced the most and the best lawgivers in the secular field. Two, the Spartan Lycurgus and the Athenian Solon, are specially distinguished, and seem to have been the originators of the civil order of their respective cities, establishing in them the two main political tendencies, democratic and aristocratic, which are still in full vigor among modern peoples. The Hebrews had also their great law-giver, Moses, who was religious rather than sec-



ular. Rome had likewise its early Numa, but in Roman history the individual lawgiver vanishes into the lawgiving State, impersonal as the Law itself. And that was the outcome of the lawgiver in Greece also; Pericles as well as Gracchus were not lawgivers in the old sense, though they proposed and carried laws. In the modern world likewise the ancient personal lawgiver cannot appear, he has vanished into the legislature, or rather into the three functions of the State, legislative, judicial and executive, for he seems to have been all three. Again we may note that out of one lawgiving Ego springs the whole fabric of the lawgiving Institution, the State, which, as already remarked, is an objective and institutional counterpart of the self-knowing and self-willing Ego.

The State has its essence not in love, but in law, or, if we put the two terms together, not in the law of love but in the love of law, to which the individual is to yield himself in order to find himself. The immediate emotion of the Family which is love, is now objectified into a commandment which subsumes the man through his intelligence. He must know the law in order to be truly a member of the State, while he must feel the legal bond as a member of the Family.

The State is law-making, law-adjudicating, law-executing; its inner process turns about the law, which is the utterance of itself in a three-

fold movement corresponding to the movement of the Ego. The so-called tripartite division of governmental powers — legislative, executive and judicial — has a psychical origin and must be referred back to that origin for its final vindication.

When we say that the State must execute the law, we ascribe to it a Will, and a Will whose content is the law, the universal-mandate which the individual must obey or will, since obedience is a phase of Will. The State we regard not as an Ego, yet as a Will, which, however, has to be administered and vitalized by an Ego or Person filled with its universal content. This is what makes the State objective Will, which as object has to be made active by the subjective Will of the Individual.

We have already noticed that the State is in one way a return to the Family whose institutional authority it has affirmed and made explicit in the Law, freeing that authority of its individual form. But the same character it bears toward all institutions, and not alone toward the Family; that is, the State is the institution whose law is to express and to unfold every form of institutional Will, Family, Society, Church, confirming the same by its Law. To take the case of the Church, the State as Will secures the religious Will in its right, which is essentially to utter and to organize itself in an institution. Yet the State

does not (at least in its most modern form) actualize the religious Will in an ecclesiastical institution; it simply affirms and safeguards such a Will in its institutional activity, as it does the Family and Society; or, we may say, the State actualizes in the Law the religious Will actualizing itself in its own institution. The State is that form of actualized Will which secures every form of actualized Will, including itself. Thus we may see that the State is the institution which returns to the institution and wills the Will willing the same. The State does not (at least in its most modern form) compel the individual to enter the Family; but if he so wills, it guarantees to him his Will. Here we may again say that the State does not actualize the Family, but it actualizes the actualization of the Family.

Thus we behold again the Psychosis of secular Institutions in their three forms — Family, Society, State. Their process with one another has been already set forth (see preceding pp. 44–58), and need not be here repeated.

At this point we shall have to drop the further consideration of the State, which deserves a far fuller treatment than is possible in the present work. The Anglo-Saxon State is the most important institutional phenomenon of modern times, and seems destined to unify politically the whole world. The nations of Europe have already adopted largely its governmental forms, not

through force but of their own inner movement. In the United States the political Institution must be regarded as the transcendent spiritual factor of the country, and the element of chief interest to other nations. We can only say at present that we hope soon to give an exposition of the State adequate to its importance, from the psychological point of view, which is the fundamental one for it as well as for all other Institutions. The few pages just given will, we trust, be sufficient to show the general meaning of this Institution as well as its interconnection with the rest, so that the institutional process will be fairly complete in the mind of the reader.

*SECTION SECOND.—THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION.*

The difference between the secular and the religious worlds in a vague, general way, is present to us all; but when we come to make this distinction concrete in the mind, and to render it definite by careful formulation, we find that our task is not easy, and is not to be accomplished of a sudden. We return to our statement time after time, remodel it, and work it over and over, ere the distinction becomes a part of our conscious possessions. In some such fashion the author may ask his reader to look at several ways of stating the same fundamental thought, and to turn it over and over in print first, then in the mind.

Human Will makes itself actual in an Institution through willing itself; thus human Will re-

turns to itself and confirms itself by reason of the Institution which is secular. On the other hand, human Will makes itself actual in an Institution through willing God's Will; thus the human Will returns to itself and confirms its own self-surrender by means of an Institution which is religious. In the foregoing parallel we put the stress upon the attitude of the human or individual Will, that of self-assertion and of self-surrender, which is to be affirmed by the two Institutions respectively.

Looking at the same thought from a somewhat different point of view, and using different terms, we may say that the secular Institution is the finite Will actualized, willing finite Will with its finite ends in domestic, social, and political life; hence the secular Institution secures immediate human Will mediately (that is through the Institution). On the other hand the religious Institution is the infinite Will actualized, that which wills the absolute Will which is the Good, the ultimate or ideal end of the universe. Hence the religious Institution may be deemed from this point of view the absolute Institution, as it is just the Institution of the Absolute (as Divine Ego or Person).

As the secular Institution affirms and makes valid the immediate human Will mediately through its Institution, so the religious Institution affirms and makes valid the broken, penitent,

self-renouncing human Will mediately, through its Institution, in which the human Ego, giving up its finite self, gains the infinite Self, and thus finds the infinite reconciliation, wherein also lies perfect freedom. For, as we shall often emphasize, God is supremely Free-Will, not capriciously, but institutionally free, that is, He is a Free-Will which wills Free-Will in man, who, in turn, is to will God's Free-Will, also through the Institution.

“My Will be done,” is secular. “Not my Will, but Thine be done,” is religious.

In these two utterances the institutional element is purposely left out, in order to show more distinctly its starting-point in the Will for both Institutions. My Will is not alone to be done immediately, but is also to be affirmed directly or indirectly by the Law; the surrender of my Will, though it has its immediate phase at the beginning, is not to remain in its state of scission, but is to be accepted and reconciled in and through the Church.

Here we should explain that the State and the Church, though usually coupled together and contrasted, are not correlatives, or, so to speak, symmetrical Institutions. The Church belongs strictly to Christendom, and is an historic evolution of the religious Institution, the last in time; while the State is merely one form of the secular Institution running through all time. The State

is simply another word for the political Institution, but the Church is by no means another word for the religious Institution. Hence other terms must be usually employed both for correspondence and contrast. The nomenclature here followed takes the word *Institution* in order to express the principle common to both, and differentiates them respectively by the adjectives *secular* and *religious*.

The reader may have noted that we continually speak of the religious Institution, not simply of religion, which is so much talked of in these days as something entirely apart from any institutional embodiment. The organization of religion as an existent objective Institution is our present theme, though the soul of this organism should be religion, just as the soul of the State should be patriotism, and the soul of the Family should be domestic love. Still this soul for all human purposes must be incorporate in a body of its own, and the two must work together to produce religious life and activity. It is a sign of the time that so much is written and thought upon religion and so little upon the religious Institution, without which religion has never existed, indeed can have no existence except as a subjective affair. One may, and in a sense must, love God without any Church, just as one may love a woman without any marriage; but the true fruition of both kinds of love is the correspond-



ing Institution, in one case the Church and in the other the Family. The subjective side of the Institution is not to be left out nor is it to be left to itself without objective reality. Protestantism in this respect has shown itself weak, it has never been quite able fully to institutionalize itself; it smote the old Church, and has never recovered from its own blow.

All peoples have their religious Institution, quite as much as they have their domestic or their political Institution. The human animal, however low he may be, has some form of the God-consciousness, else he were not human; the getting conscious of the divine Ego is the first birth of the human Ego, and with it the first birth of the religious Institution, even though this be the merest mumbo-jumbo. In such a stage all Institutions are mingled together in a kind of institutional protoplasm, which bears in it the possibility of the future. Later we shall see the Church evolve itself out of this primordial cell, as we may call it, through a long series of religious forms.

It has been already indicated that the religious Institution springs out of the God-consciousness in man, his recognition of the absolute Ego in his own Ego. Religiosity differs from secularity in this: the Ego as particular wills not some particular end or form of itself, but wills the universal Ego as such, the pure form of the Self. Every particular Ego is to pass through the alembic of

the absolute Ego and become universalized, whereby it is made religions ; to bring about this process in the human soul is the function of religion and its Institution.

In the modern world, and also in the medieval, the relation between the secular and religious Institutions is usually expressed by that between State and Church. These two terms, though not universally applicable as correlates, can be employed as such within their proper limits. Both State and Church are tribunals sitting in judgment upon man and his deed ; the one judges him by his outer or overt act, which has to be proven ; the other judges him by his inner Self or disposition, looking into his heart and seeing what is there. The one asks: Has this deed violated man's Will as expressed in the Law? The other asks: Has this deed violated God's Will as expressed in the Conscience? The two judges ought not to reverse each other, still they do sometimes.

The State wills the Free-Will to be Free-Will through the Law, not through the absolute Free-Will itself. On the other hand, the Church wills the Free-Will to be Free-Will through God's Will or the absolute Free-Will as Person, which Will is actualized in the religious Institution, and thereby confirms or rather consecrates all Free-Will. The Church, then, with its absolute Person as Free-Will willing Free-Will is the final

home and protection of all freedom, though it has often shown itself the very opposite, and may become the worst kind of a tyrant, the soul's tyrant.

Thus the religious Institution furnishes the spiritual foundation for the freedom of the secular Institution. The State is often said to be based on religion, and we may see how this is so, if the great object of the State is to secure Free-Will. The Church is to fill every man with the spirit of the absolute Person, who is Free Will — willing absolutely Free-Will through His Institution, and bringing the same home to every soul. At least such is the ideal purpose of the Church, whatever may be its reality. Each secular individual in a world of freedom ought to be a member of the religious Institution in order to receive the highest inspiration for that freedom. The State has as its center the abstract universal Law which from without enforces Free Will; the Church has as its center the concrete universal Free-Will itself, which from within enforces Free-Will, and is thus the source of all Law.

So we may say that the Divine Will or the absolute Ego is implicit in the secular Institution, but explicit in the religious Institution. The Law as such is not in form Free-Will, though this be its content; but God is Free-Will, both in form and content. All finite desire is to be made institutional through Family, Society, State; but

even this finite desire is ultimately to become infinite, or the desire of the Infinite, the desire for God, the absolute Free-Will. *In sua voluntate é la nostra pace*, says Dante, the Christian poet, in an oft-cited verse. But the Heathen poet, Homer, also says, "All men desire God," affirming the universality of religion, or of the God-consciousness. In the Finite is involved the Infinite as its creative presupposition. The religious Institution must descend into the secular Institution, and be perpetually re-vivifying and re-creating the same through its spirit, which, as the actualization of universal Free-Will, is the origin and end of the entire institutional world.

How this is to be done is not here said, but only that it is to be done. The religious Institution has as its function to keep alive, and to safeguard the universal institutional principle, which is its own, making the same eternally productive in the human Ego, which in the religious Institution is to will universal Free-Will as the absolute Person himself, and which is thereby filled with the very soul of all institutional freedom. In the secular Institution the Divine Will is present and at work, but not revealed in its own nature; but in the religious Institution man wills God's Will openly, explicitly as the absolute Self, Creator of his individual self and of the universe. This is the spirit underlying and creating the secular

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Institution, though the form be finite and relatively external in its sphere of action.

The religious Institution, as already stated, has passed through a multitude of forms in the course of its development, but its culmination lies in the Church completely actualized as an Institution, for which at present there are many longings and earnest gropings. God can be free only in a free, that is, institutionally free, Church. The so-called Free Religion is hardly an institutional, but rather a capricious, Religion. The free man, however, cannot have a capricious deity, but one who wills freedom through the Institution. As the absolute Free-Will which wills Free-Will, God is the unlimited, the infinite; the limitation of evil is not upon him. Did he create evil? He gave Free-Will to man who has the power of negating Free-Will, which is the principle of all evil. Such negative power lies in the very gift of freedom: freedom is free to undo itself. Yet man's Free-Will, the supremely divine gift, can will absolute Free-Will whose end is to create Free-Will; thus man is good, using his freedom always to secure freedom. This is the ideal end of Ethics, which we have elsewhere called Institutional Virtue, in which man, the human Free-Will, has as the active and conscious content of his life, the willing of Free-Will through Institutions. (See the author's *Will and its World*, p. 565.) Man may be simply ethical in the

secular institutional world through the abstract moral Law, but his destiny is to rise to the religious Institution with its absolute Free-Will as Person who is the source of that Law, as He is the supreme Free-Will willing personally Free-Will. It has, in general, been acknowledged that Ethics is incomplete, apart from religion with its absolute Person, though not all ethical people are religious and some are anti-theistic.

Man's freedom and God's freedom are correlates. The question, Is man free? is essentially one with the question, Is God free? The denial of either's Free-Will involves the other's, and, of course, the corresponding Institution. God, too, must have His Institution in order to be truly free. Only thus can there be a free God willing His own Free-Will in and for man. But man in his turn must will Free-Will in God through the religious Institution in order to secure for himself and for the world this divine Free-Will, which otherwise does not exist, that is, institutionally exist. Without man God's Free-Will is not recognized (there being no other recognizer), nor is it actualized, having no Institution by which it can be made actual. Through His Church in its very organization God says to man, "I need you for my complete freedom," and so gives to him His own infinite worth. On the other hand man needs God for his complete freedom, which, however, can only be attained through

divine freedom. A capriciously free God above and an institutionally free man below makes a contradiction which cracks open Heaven and Earth into an impassable chasm. Man is not better than his God, nor is God better than His man; they quite correspond in the Evolution of the Ages. If God is the Father, then the son, who is man, is absolutely necessary to make Him Father, and on this side also the two must be conceived as correlates.

Such is the ideal end of the Church even if it seems slow in getting there. The liberation of God is the supreme movement of the religious Institution, as the liberation of man is the supreme movement of the secular Institution, which, however, must ultimately derive its spirit from the God-consciousness. As man wills the Free-Will of himself and neighbor through the State and its Law, so he wills absolute Free-Will in the universe, or universal freedom, through the Church, and thus affirms and communes with the source of all Law. On the other hand this absolute Free-Will or the Divine Person obtains its rational and institutional freedom through the religious Institution. The true Church is not a Divine Patriarchate with its capricious absolutism on the part of God, but a free Institution through which He actualizes his Free-Will. For God's Will also is not to be realized immediately in relation to man, but mediately, through an Institu-

tion. God did not even create man immediately, by fiat, but let him develop into the God-consciousness, as science is daily proving. Thus begins the religious Institution which itself develops from the supremacy of a capricious to that of a rational and institutional God.

At this point the tremendous question forces itself up to the surface: Is God then, subject to Evolution? Man is, the religious Institution is, the God-consciousness is: all manifestations which we call divine seem to have developed; indeed this is just the side of His manifestation. Is there another side or other sides? Evolution is not the total divine process, it moves simply in one direction, which always calls up two other questions: From what and to what? Ultimately from and to one and the same object, absolute Person who is God Himself, the creative Ego in all things, creative not by special fiat, but by the universal genetic act of itself, which is eternally producing and unfolding itself.

*The Religious Institution as separative.* The separation between the secular and religious Institutions is a fact of the common consciousness of men, and is brought home to them in many different ways externally and internally. Two distinct realms we regard them, and pass from one to the other, making the transition in Space, Time, and Spirit. The ordinary man in the daily occupations of his secular life, seems to be with



his real, immediate Self; but when he enters the religious life, for instance, in going to church, he seems to be in the presence of another Self, very different from the finite Self with its finite pursuits and ends. This dualism between secularity and religiosity is the basic fact in the psychological ordering of the whole institutional world. In the beginning man possesses or shares in two Selves, an individual subjective Self and a universal objective Self, which division religion is in the end to reconcile.

The religious Institution manifestly separates itself from the secular Institution, and thus belongs to the second or separative stage of the total institutional movement. It is the separative act inherent in the complete Psychosis of all Institutions, having its psychical start in that fundamental separation between the two Egos, the human and the divine, the separation between the individual, finite Person and the absolute, all-creative Person.

This separation will pass into the external world, into nature, by means of the religious consciousness. A piece of ground will be measured off and made sacred, as distinct from other ground, thus it is the sacred precinct, or the Greek *temenos* (coming from a word which means *to cut off*). Upon such ground is built the temple or cathedral, the sacred edifice, whose religious spirit gives rise to architecture, which was to con-

struct primarily "God's House," or the Home of the absolute Person. Then we have also the collection of such edifices, even the sacred city, such as Jerusalem, Mecca, Benares, Heliopolis in ancient Egypt. The Oriental religious consciousness seems to demand the sacred city; in Europe, also, we may find traces of the same tendency in the feeling with which Rome is regarded by many Catholics.

Special forms of nature are seized upon by religion and consecrated apart from the rest of nature. There is the sacred river, the Nile in antiquity, and the Ganges even now; the sacred mountain rises up heavenward all over Asia, past and present, a very suggestive indication pointing from below to the beyond; traces of the same feeling we may still find in Greece and Italy, for instance, in reference to Mount Athos and Monte Cassino; old Rome had also its famous Mons Sacer, and ancient Hellas its Olympus. Many other natural objects have been employed by this same consciousness, such as grotts, caves, and even trees and plants (the oak of Dodona and the soma of ancient Arya). But the most obvious, striking and ever-present separation in visible nature, that between sky above and land below, has been seized upon by the religious consciousness and transformed into the distinction between Earth and Heaven, the Here and the Hereafter, the mortal and the immortal, the

sensible and the supersensible realms, Man's and God's abode with many other connotations based upon the distinction between the secular and the religious Institutions.

Quite as impressive and far-reaching is the apartness which religion has set into Time. There is the sacred hour of prayer (often several of them) breaking in upon the worldly day, the sacred day intercalated into the week, the holy week and the holy season of the year, also the holy year or jubilee. Thus religion cuts into and divides secular time, making the divisions and taking its own; indeed all ordering of Time, the calendar with its names derived from saints and gods, was primarily religious and for a religious purpose.

Nor must we neglect to state the fact that the same separation passes over into spiritual products, for instance, into writing. The Great Books of the world are fundamentally divided into two kinds, religious and secular. The Orient has been prolific of sacred Books, indeed all literature of the primitive ages was regarded as holy. The earliest form of writing is probably the Egyptian, and is called sacred (*hieroglyphic*); but in Egypt also there arose a secular form of writing used by the people (*demotic*) as distinct from that employed by the priesthood, the sacred caste. The Occident has produced no religious Bible, not even for its own use, though

it has adopted some from the Orient; but it has produced the great secular Bibles of Literature (Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe). This fact constitutes a striking illustration of the distinction between the Asiatic and the European minds in their deepest creative sources. The one has developed specially the religious Institution with its utterance in writing, the other has specially developed the secular Institution with its utterance in writing. The two dispositions or characters which have been created by the two Institutions and transmitted through mankind have divided the human species into two classes, whose traits are respectively this-worldliness and other-worldliness. The great poem of Christendom, *The Divine Comedy* is other-worldly both in form and content, being thrown into the future and seeking as its end the presence of God Himself. Thus the two worlds are separated by it, yet into that other world this world is as it were plunged — being adjudged, punished, rewarded according to the deed, the expression of Free-Will. Still this poem, though religious and other-worldly, is not a religious Bible, but a literary one; it has called forth no religious organization or creed or priesthood, it has no authority except what it exerts by appealing to the Free-Will of the reader directly through its words and not through a religious Institution of its own creation.

Thus upon the outer world of the senses the

separation between the secular and the religious realms is impressed in manifold ways. Man, on entering the sacred precinct, crosses a line which brings him into another presence; he becomes conscious of the two Selves in the universe, the individual finite Self and the infinite Self, which are then to be made one by the religious process. The human Ego from the first outward sensation becomes aware of the Divine Ego, and there rises the primal intimation of the God-consciousness, which is to be unfolded into its full activity by the completed religious Institution.

Already in secular life this consciousness is present, but more or less implicit. Every act of sensuous knowing by my Ego implies the universal Ego. Man is to take his secular life and have it consecrated, though he can and often does secularize his religious Institution, and corrupt it into a means for personal and finite gratification. But that which is implicit and the hidden source in all secular Institutions must be brought out and made to exist in its own right with its own institutional life.

As in the other Institutions, Family, Society, etc., so in the religious Institution we shall witness the three stages which form what we may name the institutional process. This will reveal the inherent, organizing principle of the present subject.

I. *The Positive Religious Institution*, which

gives the present form in which the God-consciousness has institutionalized itself among the most advanced nations. This we have to recognize to be the Christian Church, though it has many differences within itself, and is not accepted by many civilized peoples.

II. *The Negative Religious Institution*, which shows a retrogressive, destructive element in religion, which may become hostile to other Institutions, to Morals and to itself, and which finally organizes its hostility to the God-consciousness into a religious Institution with ritual and creed.

III. *The Evolution of the Religious Institution*, which shows the ascent of the God-consciousness in man, unfolding into more and more complete forms till the present time, whose religious condition seems to prognosticate a new universal Institution as being in the course of formation.

Such is the Psychosis or the inner psychological movement of the religious Institution in its total sweep, corresponding fundamentally to the process of the Ego itself, which has created it and keeps it active. We call it an Institution, since it has that which is common to all Institutions; it is actualized Free-Will, an objective fact in the world, whose purpose is to call forth and confirm man's Free-Will. For the individual can be free only in so far as he wills the universal Will, the

Will of God, who then cannot help helping him in turn to be free.

The religious Institution is, accordingly, in its ideal purpose, that which trains man toward universal freedom, giving him communion with and participation in the absolute Ego's Free-Will. The first lesson which religion teaches him is to renounce the immediate or capricious Will and subordinate it to the one Free-Will whose very essence is to will Free-Will in and through the Institution. Thus does man become godlike in proportion as he becomes institutionally free.

We shall now expand this thought of the religious Institution, and observe it passing through the various stages which have made it such a deeply significant phenomenon in the history of mankind.

### I. THE POSITIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION.

All peoples, lowest and highest, have some form of the Religious Institution. This with us is called the Church, though the name belongs only to Christendom. The Church may be considered the most complete development which the Religious Institution has yet reached, though inside the Church there are many gradations.

The Religious Institution is to keep alive and ever present in the human Ego the consciousness of the absolute Ego, or what we have called the God-consciousness. The psychical process of my

Ego in the simplest act of knowing implies the divine Ego; this is what I know or make my own in the mere object of external vision. But that universal mind (or Ego) which is implicit even as my sense-life, must be made explicit, conscious, an object in itself and a presence to me. Thus I know not only the outer thing but the Creator of it and of all things, and I am brought into communion with Him, so that I can know and will his Will. Such is the function of Religion along with its Institution: through my knowledge of externality it is to bear me forth into knowing the creative internal Self of the Universe.

To return once more to our former contrast, the secular Institution secures man as the child of man, in the Family man as generic, in Society man as having wants, in the State man as a self-conscious Will through the Law. But the Religious Institution secures man as the child of God, as sharing in the estate of the absolute Person, and hence secures man not in his particular existence, but in his spiritual universal Self, which is his divine inheritance.

The Church, as the highest form of the Religious Institution, must have at its center the highest conception of deity, and also the highest conception of humanity. God is supremely Free-Will not capriciously but rationally, that is, institutionally free. The Church was instituted both for human and divine freedom: such is its



ideal end, which, however, will require some time yet for its complete realization. This same ideal end lies in the total Religious Institution from its humblest to its most exalted forms: God has made it in order to actualize freedom, both his own and man's. The two kinds of freedom belong together in the one divine Institution, though often declared to be antagonistic.

It may be said, then, that the Religious Institution is created by absolute Free-Will in order to make itself actual, that is, in order to make creative Free-Will actual. God as Creator must create a creation creative, it must image Him in his very Self. Now this primordial creative process of the absolute Spirit is just what must be revealed as the generating process of His Institution. Accordingly we shall behold the three following stages of the movement of the positive Religious Institution:

I. *Theogonic*; the self-unfolding of the absolute Ego within itself. Creator and Creation are primordially one in the Self; God is self-created, and more or less explicitly shows the triune process.

II. *Cosmogonic*; the unfolding of the absolute Ego into the world or cosmos; Creator and Creation are separated into the internal and external; God creates another than Himself — Nature, Man and the primal Institution — which form a three-fold process with one another.

III. *Hierogonic*; the unfolding of the absolute Ego into its own Institution, the religious, which is in the world, yet is the separation from it and the return to God, who herein becomes institutional.

In Christendom this Institution is called the Church, which is declared to have been founded by Christ, and the science of which is named Ecclesiology by theological writers. The Greek and Latin peoples still use for the word *church* the Greek *ecclesia* or derivatives from it; Teutonic peoples employ some form of the word *church*, which is usually supposed to have come from the Greek also (Kuriakon). This third stage (Hierogonic) separates the Holy Institution from the preceding primal institutional form or germ, out of which it evolves into independence. In this sense we can say also that God made it, since it is the absolute Ego unfolding into His Institution, which has a corresponding development in the human Ego unfolding into God-consciousness, which is established and made active and actual by the sacred Institution, or by what we have here called the Hierogonic Process (*Hieron*, what is sacred, or the sanctuary, in Greek).

The term *Hierogonic* is unusual, but it seems necessary in order to correlate the third stage with the other two, on the side of their common creative principle. It means the creation of the

Sacred Institution in a double sense, as passive or created, and as active or creating, being created by the absolute Person that man through it may eternally re-create Him in his own soul. So man from his side also creates the Church, which otherwise is not, or is a lifeless shell.

Thus the absolute Ego institutionalizes itself, for it has to have its Institution as well as the human Ego. Moreover, the divine Institution must have an institutional content, namely, Free-Will. The absolute Ego wills Free-Will through its Institution, and thereby is institutionally free, and not arbitrarily so. On the other hand, man wills God's Will as actualized in His Institution, subordinating himself to the divine Will as institutional, or as conveyed to him through the Institution, which in turn secures his freedom, that is, his institutional freedom, and brings him to suppress or to control his caprice in every form of particularity. Through the Church man is made truly universal, or is completely socialized; the Secular Institution is not enough by itself.

Of course, this must be the institutional Church, and it must worship the institutional God. The deity of Mahomedanism (not to speak of others nearer home) is largely capricious, and so has a Religious Institution which generates enthusiasm, devotion, submission, but not freedom.

I. THE THEOGONIC PROCESS. Of old among peoples there has been some form of Theogony,

which tells of the Creation of the Gods (or God). If they created the world, who created them? Such a question rises with the infancy of the race and of the individual; we hear it asked by the little child quite with the dawning of speech and reason. If the divine Person be supremely creative, then His own principle must be applied to Himself, must be indeed in Himself and at work there first of all.

It is to the Greek world that we owe the name and the conception of a Theogony. Under this title the old poet Hesiod has given a systematic evolution of the Greek Pantheon of his own age, beginning with Night and Chaos which have the power of unfolding out of themselves into their opposites, Day and Light, and thus gradually developing into the Olympian Gods. Such is the daring thought not only affirmed but carried out in that ancient poem called Hesiod's Theogony; the Gods, too, are subject to evolution. Mythical flashes of the same sort we trace among many peoples. Tylor cites a Japanese account of creation: while the earth is still soft like mud, there arises out of the mass a rush from which springs the land-forming god. The cosmical egg in Hindoo and other mythologies sometimes produces the god, and sometimes is produced by him.

The Theogonic Process is an inherent element of the Christian Religion. That Jesus is the Son

of God is affirmed in every orthodox creed of Christendom. The part of the mother, Mary, has also a very important place in the history of the Church. Out of the Theogonic conception springs the central doctrine of Christianity, the Trinity. Its threefold movement we may briefly consider.

1. *God.* The absolute Person or Ego is the creative principle of the universe, and is specially the organizing center of the Religious Institution, whose supreme function is to keep alive and active in the human Ego the consciousness of God, of the absolute Ego. In the Christian Church he is conceived and named God the Father, the domestic head and generator of the universal Family, having a paternal love for his children. Also he is conceived as the maker or artificer of the world, creating it by fiat, by an act of primordial divine Will and governing it through eternal justice or righteousness. Moreover God is conceived as having His own end in creation, and hence as having supreme wisdom for comprehending and attaining the highest end. Love, Justice and Wisdom indicate the psychical nature of the divine Ego in Feeling, Will, and Intellect.

This same psychical process of the universal Ego is stated in its universality (or all-ness) in the so-called divine attributes. (1) *Omnipresence*; immediately present in all things, even in

Space and Time; ubiquitous, existent from everlasting to everlasting. (2) *Omnipotence*; the absolute, self-active Will creative of all things, the generative source of the world and man, and of all their happenings. (3) *Omniscience*; the absolute mind, which knows all and specially itself; the supreme self-conscious Intellect.

In these three terms theology has suggested the triple process of the Divine Ego as it is in itself, for they are not simply three distinct abstract attributes but are also one, and one process. This thought leads up to the final way of seizing the absolute Ego as the inner divine Psychosis, the primordial creative archetype of all created things, outside of which nothing can exist. It is the Divine Mind as having its own process within itself, or God as self-created. It is the absolute Psychosis, originative of all and the All; thus we may call it the Panpsychosis, the universal creative process of the universal Ego.

But God as Father is still potential, not yet truly Father till the Son appears. God himself is realized in the fullness of time by the birth of the divine child who thus brings to manifestation divine fatherhood.

2. *The Son*. God the Son is the created, generated, the externalized and humanized, and yet a member of the divine Family. The Second Person appears in person, is just the divine appearance in the world, and so is the counter-

part of the First Person. This is the stage of separation in which God becomes another Ego, which is, however, himself. The divine Ego is now twofold, is two Egos, having made manifest its own primal inner self-separation. Thus God is no longer potential but is real, He has obtained fatherhood through sonhood; God is also born anew in the birth of the Son, "our Father in Heaven" has come into existence through Christ, the son who addresses Him these words in filial supplication. Unless the divine Person had a divine Son, he could not be addressed or conceived as Father. The Son returns in spirit and creates or re-creates the Father, calling forth His love and calling upon Him by name, which fact establishes their relation.

When we look to the antecedents of the Christian Religion, we find that God the Father is essentially Aryan, that God the unrelated ruler of the universe is Semitic. Creation by fiat is Semitic, creation by divine paternity is Aryan. The Hebrew and Mahommedan Bibles do not conceive of God as Father fundamentally. The sonship of Christ must be pronounced Aryan; Father Zeus is familiar to the Greek mind, as we may note everywhere as Greek poetry and mythology, in which we meet with many heroes who are sons of the Gods. In fact all the Olympians are children of deities. The Semitic and Aryan unite in the New Testament. Christ's great revolution at

this point was to make the Semitic or Oriental God have a son, who was also human and so could be mediatorial. Then God became Father for the first time, at least the Father of man, and showed love, which thereby is an essential element in the Christian God-consciousness. On the other hand the Hebrew unfolded God's righteousness, the absolute justice of the world-ruler. The Church has penetrated into the wisdom of God and uttered the same in the words of its sages and theologians. Thus we have inherited the Love, Justice, and Wisdom of God.

The second relation of the Son is the human one, that which connects Him with man. Thus, Heistwofold, divine-human; His creation and separation from God passes into His nature and gives to Him His double selfhood. Christ is, therefore, "the Son of Man" as well as "the Son of God," which dual fact is represented in His Theogony, He being born of human and divine parentage. In His human origin and relation He is one with mankind, is man's brother; yet He is also God's Son, and His divine influence moves in both directions: He calls forth in God fatherhood and in mankind brotherhood.

He passes through His human career, which is to manifest His divine sonship by making all men brothers. In His time Western Asia, and with it Judea were hellenized, having had some three centuries of Greek supremacy and culture.



In the religion of Greece the mortal sons of the Gods were well known—Hercules, Achilles, Bellerophon. But divine sonship is not Hebraic, yet the time has come when the childless Semitic Jahveh is to be given a Son—and this is the divine gift of Jesus, just the gift of Himself. And with this gift he gives to man also a new world-embracing gift, that of universal brotherhood, all men being with Himself the sons of God.

The inner movement of the Second Person is contained in his outer life, which ended in death and resurrection. In this last idea we are to see not only immortality, but also the return of the Son to the Father, which completes the process of filiation. The son of man, which was his human, finite, separated side, goes back, through its negation, to being the Son of God, with which he started. Thus he rounds the inner cycle of the Second Person: divine, human, and both these united in the return.

But this movement of filiation is not to end with the Second Person's restoration to God; thus it would be merely an individual process, and of no moment to the rest of mankind. Now the process of divine filiation is to be made universal, all persons are to participate in it and thereby to become Sons of God. Every human Ego is to be filled with this inner movement of the Son, for it is fundamentally the movement of the Ego itself, and can unite with the latter,

and can lead it to the resurrection and the life. This is, then, the very Spirit of Christ, usually designated as the Third Person of the Trinity, which we may next briefly consider.

3. *The Spirit.* Many questions rise in connection with the present subject: Why Person? Why third? Why Spirit as distinct from Christ and even God? As Spirit, it suggests primarily separation from the sensuous, finite manifestation of itself; it is pure Spirit, grasped in its inner movement. Coming after the earthly appearance of Christ, it is his Spirit as distinct from its outer happenings; it is his Self as unfolded and revealed in his life, hence it is called a Person, a new Person in its function. The Spirit is the pure Psychosis as manifested in his biography, as externalized in the deeds and events of his individual career, and such a Psychosis belongs to every human life, whose essence is seen in the process of its indwelling Spirit (its Ego) from birth to death.

Thus the Holy Spirit, or the inner psychical movement of the Christ-life, is united with every human life or every living Ego by the very process of the Self. But the further and mightier fact is that the Holy Spirit through Christ is the return to God, and bears with itself thither every human Ego that is truly one with this Spirit. Hence the doctrine that salvation is the work of the Holy Ghost. It is the Person or

Self which unites all Selves to the absolute Self, bringing back the separated or estranged Self (the sinful soul) to God. As Christ was the divine-human and the return, so His Spirit, which is the Holy Ghost, taking possession of the human Spirit, through the latter's own act of repentance, becomes the Healer, Savior, Mediator, for every individual Self in the Universe, who may be in a state of alienation from the Divine.

Accordingly we shall see in the Spirit a three-fold process, which belongs to it necessarily as Ego or Person. (1) The Spirit of Christ as distinct, as having completed its movement, as separated from its earthly and temporal manifestation. It is true that the living Christ knew of this Spirit and mentions it and orders it in the Trinity, as it is the very process of the Ego and lies in the nature of self-consciousness. (2) This Spirit on its human side makes itself one with man, stirs the human Spirit into its deepest-self-activity through repentance, which pre-supposes separation from God and the return. (3) This return is made real in man through the divine side of the Holy Spirit, which is also the return to God in and along with the human Spirit. Thus through the Holy Spirit, as the pure Psychosis of Christ God is brought to man and man is brought to God in forgiveness.

Such is the process of the Trinity with its three Persons — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

From the beginning it has been felt to be the central fact of Christianity both practically and theoretically. It restored to the world God-consciousness when the latter had been lost through ancient philosophy, for that is just what really happened. This primordial act Christianity is still re-enacting: it is always restoring and reproducing the God-consciousness in man, God as the Trinity in the soul and in life and in the world, from whom flow love, righteousness, and wisdom with all their correlates and derivatives.

Moreover, a new utterance through this new divine process arises in man for man. The divine Individual manifesting himself in a finite mortal career through which he passed back to God, calls forth a corresponding movement in art, in science, and in philosophy, above all in literature, creating afresh story, song, and the popular Mythos of Europe. Chiefly, however, it produces a new Holy Book, the record of His life and fundamentally the utterance of His divine Spirit, which Book has itself been marvelously creative, being the parent of many books.

The Trinity is declared to be a mystery, something which requires a special spiritual initiation. This is so, it is removed from the immediate sensuous fact, and compels us to penetrate to its inner meaning. It is also often declared to be incomprehensible, and the significance of three

Persons in one is not fully explicit till we reach the conception of the Psychosis, the universal process of the Ego or of Spirit. As this, we not only can think it, but we cannot think anything else, since we are just such a process ourselves in every act of thought or of knowledge.

Here we may note the famous definition of the Trinity given by the Schoolmen: one Substance, three Persons. This definition no longer satisfies as it leaves the Trinity in a dualism between Substance and Person, and does not give its process. Spinoza took up the doctrine of Substance, which he received through Descartes from Scholasticism, and developed it so prodigiously that it swallowed not only the Trinity as such, but God himself. Spinoza, who was a Jew and had in his spirit a decided Jewish and hence anti-trinitarian element in spite of his separation from the synagogue, simply unfolded to its negative outcome this definition of the Trinity; after him it was no longer possible, but a new conception of the Trinity had to be formed and to be developed, for Spinoza did not destroy it, but compelled its supporters to open up its deeper foundation both in the soul of man and in the spirit of the ages. In general the theologians and also the philosophers of recent times have recognized and set forth the profound and universal significance of the Trinity.

This doctrine has a most instructive and far-reaching history. In Asia, the home of religions,

it is found in many forms. The early Hindoo has what is sometimes called the Vedic Triad — Agni, Indra, Sarga; Brahmanism has the three great gods also in a Triad — Brahma, Vishnu, Siva; finally the Trimurti, or the three-formed one has been often named by Occidental writers the Hindoo Trinity. The religion of India has a vague Trinitarian fermentation going through it from beginning to end, with many divine incarnations, and fantastic gleams of future religions. Ancient Egypt had also its Trinity — Osiris, Isis, and Horus, with numerous surprising analogies to the story of Christ, as divine sonship, death of the God, and His resurrection. Western Asia at the birth of Christ was a seething cauldron of all Oriental religions, which were seeking to shape themselves into some universal form corresponding to the universal empire of Rome.

The threefold divinity could not be expressed very well in Greek Sculpture without a commingling of shapes horrible to the Greek artistic sense. Still this idea found utterance in the pure forms of Greek philosophy, though by no means with completeness. Plato has his well-known trichotomy or threefold division of spirit, and the same occurs frequently in Aristotle. The dominating power of the Trinity in the Middle Ages ruled in Theology and Philosophy; also it organized the greatest medieval poem, Dante's Divine Comedy, which is triune, both in its totality and

in its details, even in its versification. Into the proverbs of the people the same thought has penetrated. The mightiest modern philosophers show its influence, Kant has it and Hegel makes it the ground-work of his system of philosophy; in fact the last great movement of European thought, that from Kant to Hegel, may be regarded as a new explication of the Trinity both in its form and in its content. Especially Hegel and his disciples make the philosophical Logos, which is unfolded in the Hegelian Logic, threefold in its own movement and in all applications, in Art, History, Religion, and even in Nature.

Thus the Trinity has by no means lost its hold upon mankind, but it has vastly extended its domain; we may consider it to have developed beyond Religion, and to have become secularized, having shown itself as the creative principle of secular disciplines. In this form it is no longer called the Trinity or thought of as such; it drops its religious name and receives a philosophical designation. Still it is deeply working in all modern thought, and reveals itself as the innermost genetic principle of the secular philosophy of the present century, which, though largely casting off the scholastic forms, has inherited and is still evolving the substance of scholasticism.

But Philosophy in its development is also revealing its limitation. It makes the triune

formulation abstract, impersonal, unreal, by divorcing the same from the Ego which is its fountain-head. The next great explication of the triune Spirit, which has passed through its primitive, its scholastic, and its philosophical stages, must be psychological, not metaphysical; it must pass from abstract concepts hanging in the air to the living utterance of the movement of the Ego itself, which is the universal Psychosis. The religious conception of God as the absolute Person has, of its own inner necessity, the threefold movement which is stated in the Trinity, but which, as personal, Philosophy has quite obscured if not obliterated. This was the essential difficulty likewise with Greek Philosophy in spite of its great services to human culture. The abstract universal of Greek thought had to be made personal by Christ else it had certainly perished. In like manner the abstract concept (*Begriff*) of Hegel with its abstract triad of universality, particularity, and individuality must be re-baptized in the Ego whence it originally came, as Hegel himself knows and says, but from which it has become quite separated and estranged. That is, Philosophy must now be, in the highest sense of the term, psychologized.

Thus what we have called the Theogonic Process of the Religious Institution has unfolded itself into its highest manifestation in the Christian Trinity — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. As



this Trinity first appeared in Time, so it has continued to unfold through Time, down to the present. The absolute Person in his process with Himself it is, or the Divine Psychosis revealed; not simply God but the selfhood of God with its inner movement made manifest to the world, or *outered*; such is the principle of Revealed Religion.

And now this inner movement of the absolute Ego is not only to show itself to the world, but also is to show itself to be the world or the creative principle of the universe. God as self-creative and also as revealing his self-creative process, is theogonic; but now that creative energy must show itself in what it creates, in the creation proper, which will again reveal the absolute Ego which created it. The world, the cosmos, will thus manifest a new form or stage of the Divine Psychosis, which has expressed itself in the Religious Institution through all ages.

II. THE COSMOGONIC PROCESS. The absolute Ego as self-creative creates that which is not Self, else it were not absolute. The primal characteristic of the external world is just this not-Self (non-Ego); my first affirmation concerning the physical universe is that it is not myself, is something outside of me, and of all like me; it is not Self but the opposite of Self. Such is the complete separation and difference of the divine Ego from its own inner Self

namely, the outer negation of this internality, which is manifested in the world, the latter for this reason being deemed hostile to God.

And yet just this world is God's creation, is the product and manifestation of his creative Ego. He, the infinite, cannot have the finite outside of Himself, else He were not the infinite. Thus the finite is a part or phase of the infinite process of the Ego. He, the most perfect being, has within his creative act the imperfect, whose process unto perfection He is. The perfect being is not something fixed, attained, else it could stand in no relation to the imperfect, and thereby would be itself imperfect, having no creative power. God as unproductive is not God. Still He puts himself into the imperfect, which is thereby in an eternal process with Him, the perfect; in other words He gives to the imperfect not perfection but perfectibility, Himself not as realized but as an ideal to be striven for; hence we may put it, God the ideally perfect has created the imperfect perfectible. Such seems to be the meaning of the text: *Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect.*

Thus the world has in it the dualism: the finite, yet with an infinite end; the imperfect, yet with the ideal of perfection; God's opposite which is to become God's own; the divine non-Ego which has yet in it the process of the divine Ego. Hence the religious consciousness puts into the

world the element of evil, which is the opposite of the Divine Ego, yet which has in it the process which is the undoing of evil and the return to God.

The Cosmogonic Process shows three main stages which are distinct yet belong together in one great movement. The first is Nature, the material or visible world, the outermost appearance of creation; the second is Man, who has a dual character, belonging to Nature on the one side and to Spirit on the other; the third is the spiritual realm in which Man lives, namely Institutions, here the primal Institution.

In all religions there is a cosmogonic period when God is specially conceived as the world-creator. Something of this tendency lies in the earliest beliefs, and it never quite vanishes out of the most developed creeds. It may be here mentioned that the Old Testament has given to Christendom a Cosmogony, and the New Testament a Theogony. The beginning of the Hebrew Bible takes God for granted, and then shows Him creating the world along with man. But the Gospels declare a new Divine Genesis in the Son and in the Trinity, and thus go back and unfold the implicit Divine Person with whom the Hebrew Cosmogony begins.

1. *Nature*. The word implies that which is born or created. It is the opposite pole of the absolute Ego, its extreme outsideness, and there-

fore visible to the senses. Nature is, in general, the sensible world; Nature sensed is God's outside taken up by Man's outside and made internal. Nature, being external to God, is external to itself; it is forever throwing itself out of itself, manifesting itself, appearing, emanating without any complete return. Separated from the absolute Self, it is separated from itself absolutely; ejected from the creative center of the universe, it cannot have any center of its own, but is forever repeating its self-separation. A piece of matter has gravitation and is forever seeking a center which it cannot reach without ceasing to be material.

On the other hand Nature is the creation of the absolute Ego, and must show the latter's process. It is God's opposite and still is God's. Such is its dualism or duplicity, if you please; though it be the Divine Person turned inside out, it is still divine. Hence the two opposite predicates which have been and may be attached to Nature; it is both good and evil. "And God saw that it was good." Still on the other hand we read of "the world, the flesh and the devil," coupled together in condemnation.

The Religious Institution has in some form a mythical Cosmogony which represents the original Person creating Nature. There is the primordial separation of Darkness and Light, of Night and Day, with the appearance and disappearance

of the Sun. Then comes the more desperate division, when the cosmical egg cracks open and turns to Heaven with its hollow shell above and the full Earth below. Nature becomes the source of the Mythus when it is made to image the will of the absolute Ego. Sometimes it is not the will but the thought of the absolute Ego which is declared to be the primordial source of the universe; so in a Hindoo mythus. The most influential of all these Cosmogonies has doubtless been the Hebrew, at least for the Occident. Yet the Hebrew account of creation has been recently traced to Babylonian and other sources, thus hinting the far-off evolutions of religion, even of our own.

Here we may note the new Cosmogony introduced by science — Nature unfolds of herself from lower to higher forms till she evolves Man. Not now is she directly produced by the fiat of a Creator, but is developed, is self-produced, whereby she obtains a new dignity. This, however, does not set aside the divinely creative Ego as some have supposed.

2. *Man.* The creation of Man is the second great fact of the Cosmogonic Process. The Divine Will creates another Will whose essence is creative; the absolute originative Power not only produces something but reproduces itself as originative; thus Man is the created, but also the creative, yea the self-creative. He is Ego and its

process, having the divine Psychosis within himself, yet derived; he is brought forth, yet his destiny is to bring forth himself. Thus he has a double element: that of Nature and that of Spirit; he is the necessitated which is to make itself free, he is created by God that he may re-create himself and thus be also a creator. His likeness to his Divine Maker lies in his creativity.

The question has often been asked, Why did God create man? He had to do just that supreme act in order to be Himself, to be absolute Free-Will whose essence is to will itself, namely Free-Will. It is not too much to say that God made man in order to be free, He had to make a free being in order to be fully free Himself, that is, actually free, objectively free. The creation of Man by God was not an act of caprice, but of rational freedom, which always wills the existence of Free-Will. Man is as necessary to God, as God is to Man, whose destiny is also a rational freedom. Man has a capricious God as long as he is himself capricious, or potentially free, not actually. Man may indeed be made "to glorify God," but his greatest glorification of God is to actualize freedom in himself and in the world. Then God also can be free, free actually, can will a Free-Will. Then He has a true companion in Man, and we can understand that He made Man in order not to be alone in this big Universe, in order to have some congenial friends, who

may do not only His Will, but whose Will He may do without self-stultification.

The Religious Institution will have to the last the Creation of Man by God as a part of its Cosmogony, which, however, will show many stages of development. A naive but deeply significant account of it is the one contained in the Hebrew Bible. Created Man is placed in Eden first, where is the state of innocence; then follows the fall, the grand separation and estrangement, with banishment from Eden into the world; finally comes the return to paradise through the world. This gives the fundamental process of Man in all simplicity and transparency, the inherent threefold movement of his soul in its journey through Creation. It is the most important and suggestive Mythus ever conceived; not only the Mythus of Creation, but itself creative above any other Mythus or utterance of human speech. It has given birth to a vast literature — legends, poems, dramas, and their counterparts also, sermons and theologies; it has called forth many forms of art in sculpture and painting, and it has likewise been set to music. The most famous offspring of the story of Paradise in English is Milton's poem. But the greatest reconstruction of this grand Cosmogonic Tale of Man is found in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, in which the fallen one is not Adam, the first man, but just the speaker himself, this Dante, and indeed every

person. Dante places much stress upon the fall, but still more upon the rise and return to Paradise, which with him is the return to the very presence of God.

Thus the absolute Ego has created another Ego opposite to Himself, and yet Himself likewise, separated yet returning to the divine fountain-head. It is a finite consciousness whose deepest attribute and aspiration is the God-consciousness, into which man is forever moving, even when unaware of it, even when he denies it, making himself a Mephistopheles, "the spirit that denies."

Let us note this movement. (1) The individual acting finds a world of objects in opposition, which world has been already created or at least is existent. (2) This existent world asserts itself against him, it has too a Will of its own. Such is the primary stage of conflict between subject and object, between the individual Ego and external Nature. Thus the two products of divine Creation are born, as it were, in a struggle with each other. The Cosmogonic Process has begotten Nature and Man, but begotten them fighting. (3) The Ego recognizes the Will in Nature. My individual Will colliding with the existent world finds its Will, which is very different from my own, being all-powerful, yet is a Will manifesting itself. Thus Man rises through Nature, up to Nature's God as the necessary presupposition of himself and the world.



The primitive Man in his terror at the storm beholds in its power and activity the work of a Will, which functions like his own, yet is far mightier, indeed almighty. Moreover that Will, being like his own, he must conciliate, recognize, harmonize with himself through offerings, and worship, and penance. Therein he makes the Supreme Will placable, it can be conciliated. But he too must in the same act become placable, he wills to assimilate himself to his Gods, and is on the road to mercy, both in demanding and granting placability.

Thus religion is the great trainer of humanity to humanity. Before his Gods, though they be of the crudest, he begins to give up his natural impulse; if he can conciliate them, he too must be capable of conciliation. The absolute Will of the World which utters itself in the mighty evolutions and also in the catastrophies of Nature is not limited like the individual Will of Man, yet both have fundamentally one and the same process, that of the Ego, and both can come together in recognition. When man conceives the Gods to be placable, he must become so himself, placable to his brother, and so humanity starts with religion. This thought the speech of Phœnix in the ninth book of the Iliad has made the imperishable spiritual possession of the Occident. He is trying to persuade Achilles to cease from wrath and be reconciled with the Greeks, when

he breaks out with the supreme argument, saying: "The Gods are placable." So you (Achilles) must be placable to us (the Greeks) who are seeking to appease you; what you demand of the Gods for yourself, you cannot refuse to us without incurring their retribution.

The God-consciousness is from its dawning touched with compassion; the bloodiest rites of the savage are usually for the purpose of conciliating the deity. Even Moloch smeared with gore must have been deemed placable by his worshipers, and thus has a strain in him which will develop into a higher worship. Some investigators have traced the Hebrew Jahveh to the terrible God of the desert, who destroys in his wrath, but who may also save in his mercy if due offerings be made. Then followed Baal, the deity of agriculture in the land flowing with milk-honey, and from a tribal he rose to being a national God. It is declared by some that the Prophets are the real authors of Hebrew Monotheism, at least in its complete development. Whatever be the historic stages, it would seem that Jahveh shadows forth the phases of the unfolding of the Hebrew God-consciousness, which has proved itself more strongly monotheistic than that of any other race. The discipline of the Hebrews as recorded in the book of their wanderings, backslidings and recoveries of many kinds, is to bring them to will the Will of their God,

who is the one God, at first over the family and tribe, then over the nation, then over all mankind, in which last case He is risen to universality.

But in order to have all the members of the domestic or tribal organization will the Will of the God, there must be an Institution for just this purpose. It is, however, not distinct from family and tribe, but one with them in its primitive form, and rises with the dawn of self-consciousness, which also brings with it the God-consciousness. The primal Institution is actualized Will whose function is to affirm, determine, and make valid God's Will. This primal Institution of man, as belonging to the Cosmogonic Process, we might designate as the cosmical Institution rising out of the primordial institutional chaos, and starting the ordered world of Institutions. Like Nature, like Man, it is represented as created by God in the beginning. Man in his dual character, as both created and creating, is to will and keep alive the divinely creative power which is the source of his own existence. This is done through the Institution, which is thus a second Nature, a new objective world, the invisible one, which in all Cosmogonies is the work of the Creator.

3. *The Primal Institution.* This is, accordingly, the third stage of the Cosmogonic Process, or of world-creation, namely the creation of the institutional world. It is a return to objective

Nature, yet not now the sensible but the supersensible, spiritual one, in which man is to share in the divinely creative Self. The first Institution it is in time as well as in thought, being the germ which unfolds into all Institutions, both secular and religious. We might call it the Family, as it is connected with the union of the sexes; still it is the Family undifferentiated, containing implicitly Society, State and Church. In the Hebrew Cosmogony it was God who created not only the first sexual pair, but who also instituted the first Family and put it into its first Home, which was likewise his work. In the Greek Pantheon the Gods themselves are arranged in Families, while Christendom is based upon the one Divine Family.

The Family is the generative Institution both of Men and of Gods, being the supreme bearer of the divine principle, creativity. The reproduction of the Person has been previously said to be the great end of the Family, which thus preserves the primal creative act of God himself in the creation of man.

It may be said that ties of Family are far closer, far more religious among the less advanced peoples than among the more civilized. The tie of blood is considered not so much a human as a divine bond, entailing sacred duties, among others formerly that of revenge for the death of kindred.

The primordial Institution with its worship and its duties begins to establish a new world over Nature, or what we have called a second Nature, which unites man perpetually with his divine source. It overcanopies him like Nature, yet with an invisible Heaven of spirits. It takes him out of his merely physical existence and starts his institutional life, which co-exists with the very origin of the Self.

We shall often have occasion to refer to this first Institution as the germ or genetic starting-point of all other Institutions. Psychically it springs from the originative power of Will itself, which by its own inherent logic becomes actualized Will; but from the cosmogonic point of view it is a creation of God, who together with Nature and Man, creates this institutional germ, which it is to unfold along with the human being into all civilization.

This Cosmogonic Institution begins early to differentiate itself into forms more and more independent. We shall find that such separation is accompanied by a separation of deities in correspondence to the unfolding of Institutions. The mentioned first Institution contains implicitly the following Institutions with their deities.

(1) Each family has its own God peculiar to it (Penates). Also there is the Goddess of the hearth (Hestia). Each family thus has its own distinct religion up to a certain point. Every

member of it must subject his Will to the domestic deity first of all.

(2) The tribal deities come next in order, inasmuch as we find a new set of Gods presiding over social totalities greater than the Family, such as the tribe, the phratry, the gens, clan, etc. Here we may note a new subordination of the Will for social ends, which is accomplished through religion. Into every form and grade of human association the religious Institution enters as the fundamental fact.

(3) The God of the State is usually the supreme one, Zeus, Jupiter, Jahveh, representing the oneness and authority of the folk or of the nation, perchance of the race. Among polytheistic peoples the political God is the ruler of the Pantheon and shows the monotheistic process going on among the multiplicity of deities, as in Homer.

Thus Family, Society, and State will have their distinct Gods in the early stage of institutional development. It seems to have been the Greco-Roman civilization which first completely separated the various Institutions from the primal Cosmogonic Institution, and transmitted them in the differentiated condition in which we now have them. Especially the secular Institution became divided from the religious Institution in classical antiquity, whose culture quite threw away all faith in the latter. But Christianity gradually

took the place of it, and the religious Institution rose again with new power in the Church.

It may well be affirmed that if the Church had not restored the God-consciousness to man, the secular civilization of antiquity would have been lost through its own self-negation. The grand function of the religious Institution is to keep the human soul up to the high-water mark of institutional development, and not let it fall back into lower stages already transcended. Reversion is against God's Will, particularly institutional reversion, which can only mean spiritual decadence. Sin is a going back to a pre-existent lower condition of your race, it is a giving up of your inheritance of progress and a denial of your own limit-transcending selfhood. As man advances into a deeper consciousness of his own freedom as institutional, so he must move forward in his consciousness of God as a Free Will whose supreme end is to make itself actual and universal.

Herewith we bring to an end the Cosmogonic Process, or God creating the cosmos of Nature, Man, and the Institution, which is a more or less emphatic element in every religion. Its main fact is the separation into the Creator and the Created; the latter culminates in a Self, Man, who is created creative by his Creator, and who is to reproduce in himself the divine Process of the Self, thus making himself one with God.

This Process has been already given, and named the Theogonic Process—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit—which the created Self, the Man, is now to take up and recreate within himself, thereby making his own the innermost Process of the divine Self.

But such a Process can be performed, preserved and transmitted only by an Institution, which has this as its content and end. Hence God creates the Holy Institution, or, as Christians say, He creates His Church, to keep alive and active His divine Process, or the God-consciousness, among men. Such is the third stage of the Positive Religious Institution, in which this really first appears as an Institution in the world with its external forms and dogmas. This we have named the Hierogonic Process, or the Creation of the Sanctuary. Already we have seen the primal Institution appear in the Cosmogonic Process; but now we are to see the Institution which underlies all others as it contains the very Process of the Creator Himself.

III. THE HIEROGONIC PROCESS. This is, then, the third stage of the Positive Religious Institution, which has now become explicit as an Institution. It has shown the main factors, Man and God, in a state of separation, which, however, is to be overcome in the present sphere. In general, the finite, erring, sinful Ego is to be restored to and united with the absolute Person



through what we here call the Hierogonic Process, which is the function of the Holy Institution (*Hieron*).

This Institution exists in the world, is actualized Will whose end is to bring Man's Will into harmony with God's Will. For the individual attains his highest freedom through willing the Divine Will and keeping the same eternally alive and active in his soul.

The Hierogonic Process realizes itself in worship, rites, observances, creed, Bible, etc. The individual Ego employs all these as a means for communion with the absolute Person, whose essence has been already given in the Theogonic Process. Thus man re-creates within himself God's own creation, the divine Process itself, which is to be the deepest fact of his life.

Hence this third stage is a return to the first (the Theogonic) which supplies its content, gives to the outer organization of religion its innermost essence, namely, God. The Hierogonic Process is realized in the Church or the Religious Institution, but its counterpart is in the human soul, which is to make the Divine Process its own, to appropriate God.

In the present sphere, then, we make the internal process of the absolute Self actual, institutional, indeed external and working in the world. He no longer keeps to Himself, perchance contemplating His own divine perfection,

which, if He did, He would certainly be imperfect. As Theogonic, God is all to Himself, but as Hierogonic, He is all for man, and man is all for Him, or is to become so. The Institution is what actualizes God, and brings Him out of His own inner Self's Process into participation with the human Self.

This actualizing of God in Man, which brings the Divine Psychosis into the finite Ego through the Institution, has three stages, which we shall name Worship, Doctrine, Priesthood — the three together revealing what was above designated as the Hierogonic Process.

1. *Worship*. In this term is expressed the immediate relation of the human to the Divine Ego. The humblest savage has some form of Worship, quite in proportion to his mental condition. Man as an Ego has to project an Ego as the center of things and events, who is his universal counterpart, and to whom he relates himself directly. This primary psychical relation between a finite and infinite Person is Faith, Faith in God.

Moreover the individual Will is to place itself in unity with this absolute Will, must conciliate it through prayer, offerings, ceremonies. The basic fact here is that the human Will is to submit itself to the Divine Will, and calls into activity an Institution, through which man can establish, preserve and transmit his unity with God.

Thus among all peoples a more or less complicated, religious ceremonial comes into existence, into which the individual is placed and is thereby made to live in the divine order.

The act of worship is the act of service to the absolute Person on the part of the finite individual, who before all things is to recognize the infinite Ego and to will its Will as his own.

2. *Doctrine.* Worship is the direct act of the believer in bringing himself into unity with God. He participates with his Will, he enacts his Faith through prayer, rites, sacrifice. Such is the primary form of the Religious Institution.

But now begins a second stage; the believer turns from the Will to the Intellect, from action to contemplation, from the ritual to the meaning of the ritual. His whole inner world becomes engaged in the Hierogonic Process. Imagination, Thought, Reason begin working and constructing their part of the Religious Institution. The Faith underlying Worship comes to expression in Doctrine, which may include creed, dogma, story, mythus, art of various kinds, and a Bible or Holy Book.

This second stage is man's attempt to formulate for his inward self-conscious spirit what in worship he has performed in outward ceremony. The human Ego seeks an internal expression of the Divine Ego, as more adequate to itself. Really this is a search for freedom when

the ritual begins to become oppressive, or no longer calls forth the immediate unquestioning Faith of the former stage. But herein the Religious Institution does not and cannot leave him wholly to himself.

3. *Priesthood.* The Religious Institution, like other Institutions, has to have an administrator, whom we may in general call the Priest. It is the priestly Person who conducts Worship, being in himself an ever-present Worship. It may be said that the true Priest has transformed his own Self into a continuous unity with the movement of the Divine Ego, so that his consciousness is spontaneously one with the God-consciousness. Thus by his own act of Worship he mediates with the deity the worshiping people, who have been separated by their secular occupations from communion with the Divine Self, with which his connection is never broken. For his occupation is not secular but religious, it is just his function to rouse and to keep active the God-consciousness in himself primarily, and then in the congregation.

Hence we may consider the Priest as the never-ceasing return to Worship, which is perpetually going on within him in one way or other. He publicly performs Divine Service, he worships in the presence of the people who are thereby led to worship also. Through his mediation he is to bring the congregation into immediate rela-

tion to God, he is to evoke in all persons the very process of the absolute Person as the Creator of the Universe.

The Priest may be deemed the re-incarnation of the Theogonic Process, which, however, he must impart not as his own specially, but as belonging to every human Ego. In this sense, too, we may deem him a consecrated man, for such he ought to be. He must have both Faith and Doctrine, the immediate and the mediated (through Intellect) stages of the present Hierogonic Process of the Religious Institution. That is, he must believe and know, and lead others to believe and know.

Among all peoples, even the lowest, we find some form of the priesthood, which has also had its evolution in the ages. It would not hurt the Christian missionary if he could see traces of his primordial priestly Self in the mumbo-jumbo of the African rain-maker. Both are priests of the Religious Institution, seeking to hold communion with the divinely creative Self, of which, indeed, each has a very different conception.

The Priest has in himself the double element, whose inner opposition it is his function to mediate, this-worldliness and other-worldliness. His danger is that he may lean too much in one direction or the other; each side produces an excess which may make him negative both to his people

and to his calling. If he is too other-worldly, he does not fulfil his vocation; he is not to withdraw into the pure inwardness of the Theogonic Process and stay there, but is to move forth and to actualize that Process, imparting it to his fellow-man through the Institution. On the other hand, he may be too this-worldly, and pervert his Institution to secular, even to selfish ends. Hence it comes that with the priestly Ego a negative element may enter the institutional world, on account of which the priesthood has had its share of execration from the beginning to the present time.

Thus the Hierogonic Process essentially completes itself in Worship with its rites, in Doctrine with its various forms of expression, and in the Priest, the Self who embodies and renders active this Process, and the total religious Process. Moreover this is the final step which actualizes the Religious Institution as positive, whose three main Processes have now been set forth both in themselves and with one another.

Here it may be stated that for Christendom the New Testament has given the Theogonic Process, and the Old Testament the Cosmogonic Process, wherein we observe that the New goes back and grounds the Old, showing its creative pre-supposition. Both Testaments, however, give the return, or phases of the return, to God. Hence both belong to the Hierogonic Process, at

least to the Christian one, which adopts them both into its Institution, the Church.

The foregoing exposition, accordingly, sets forth the inherent movement of the Religious Institution, showing its positive, constructive aspect, and unfolding its necessary stages. Every religious institution among men, even the humblest, has some form of the three constitutive principles, Theogony, Cosmogony, and Hierogony, which are likewise in a perpetual process with one another. These are the deepest, most fundamental content of the folk-lore, the myths, the poetry, the bibles of all peoples.

Already we have seen traces of a negative movement in the Religious Institution, a movement which is in it and of it, yet runs counter to its essence and purpose. Every religion has in its very organism some shape of its demonic antitype, its Devil, who is necessarily a part of its total process. So it comes that we have to reach below the Religious Institution as simply positive, and to take into the account the Religious Institution as negative, which fact is imaged in the Mythos as the grand primordial battle in Heaven between God and his would-be Destroyer. Nor should we forget in this connection, that to the imagination of the author of Job Satan also appears along with the other angels in the presence of the Lord, and there plays his part; he too belongs to the great whole,

to the universal order. And in any complete exposition of the Religious Institution, his share cannot be left out; Satan is likewise a factor in Psychology.

## II. THE NEGATIVE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION.

The Religious Institution is to safeguard the institutional principle in the secular world, keeping it eternally active in the human Ego, which is to will the universal Will as Person, not as Law or as Love, or as the Law of Love, but as the absolute Ego whose Will is ultimately to secure freedom. Thus the Religious and the Secular Institutions have finally the same function: both are forms of actualized Will, whose end is to confirm and establish Free-Will in the world. The individual, in willing the Law of the State, is implicitly fulfilling God's Will, but in the Religious Institution he explicitly does the Will of God as absolute Person, who is in essence the supreme Law-giver, whose Will is the content and genetic source of all Law. "Thy Will be done" is the foundation of the Secular Institution, also is the fountain-head of every institutional command, which, we must always recollect, is given for the purpose of securing Free-Will. Thus the Religious Institution is what creatively wills into existence the Secular Institution.

Now comes the other fact which is the entering



wedge of the negative element. The Religious Institution is, as we have seen, separate from the Secular Institution; it has a realm of its own in opposition to worldly affairs, and hence is liable to become antagonistic to all other Institutions. But really in such a case it is undermining its own institutional basis; in destroying what secures freedom it is destroying its own purpose.

Thus the Religious Institution develops a most emphatic negative tendency, and when it once gets corrupt and destructive, it seems to be worse than the depraved Secular Institution. This negative tendency is seen first in the antagonism to the world of Institutions which lies outside of itself; next, however, the negation becomes internal, and the Religious Institution disrupts itself through strife of sects and doctrines; finally it reaches its complete self-negation in a denial of the Absolute Ego. It seems a strange statement that the Religious Institution should organize itself not to recognize, but to deny God, to obliterate from human consciousness every trace of His personality.

Such is, however, the extreme negative outcome of the Religious Institution, which it manifests in parallelism with other Institutions. Religion at last organizes itself into an Institution, which is hostile to its very source and origin, namely the God-consciousness. This peculiar phenomenon has been repeatedly seen in the past,

and it can be observed in the present. Thus the Religious Institution becomes completely perverted, turned inside out as it were; it is still a Religious Institution or claims to be, yet with the purpose of annihilating the creative soul of the Religious Institution.

Of this negative movement in the Religious Institution we may designate three distinct stages which correspond to the same movement in other Institutions.

I. The Religious Institution as negative to the institutional world outside of itself, viz., the secular.

II. The Religious Institution as negative to its own institutional world, viz., the religious.

III. The Religious Institution as negative to its own creative principle, as well as that of all Institutions.

We may note the continual deepening of these three stages till the Religious Institution reaches the point of self-annihilation, and must begin its ascent in some form. It has in common with all Institutions, in common with man himself, the fall, the descent, which shows itself sooner or later in every religious organization, and which we have already noticed in the Family and in Society. Something of this negative countercurrent may be seen in every Religious Institution at all times, though in periods of disintegration it becomes the prevailing fact. But, as we shall

see, the point of extreme self-negation is the point of return and restoration; the Evolution of the Religious Institution will show its power over all the negative forces lurking in its bosom, and will carry it forward to a higher freedom.

At present, however, we shall proceed to unfold in a little detail the negative movement which has been above outlined, and which cannot be left out of any adequate survey of the present subject. For the religious consciousness there is always a diabolic part which cannot be omitted.

I. *The Religious Institution assails the Secular Institution.* The history of the Church shows a continuous conflict with the world, which it has deemed outside of itself, and which it has endeavored to subject to itself. This conflict reaches far back into Asia, culminates perhaps in medieval Europe, yet is by no means extinct at the present time.

The most striking manifestation of the antagonism between the Religious and Secular Institutions is found in monasticism, which is the open separation and flight from secular institutional life. It has flourished both in the East and West, fostered by very diverse religions, for instance by Christianity and Buddhism. Monasticism gives up the problem of life as secular, and withdraws into its own isolated religious life. The monk on the whole surrenders the world to its negative forces, though he may seek to trans-

form it from the outside, that is, from the inside of his cloister. The three well-known monastic vows are manifestly directed against secular Institutions, and may be briefly glanced at in this connection.

1. The vow of celibacy excludes from participation in the Family, and is of course negative to the domestic Institution. The priesthood of some branches of the Church is required to renounce marriage. Thus the Religious Institution, in seeking to complete its separation from secularity, assails the primary Institution of man whose function we have already defined to be the reproduction of the individual as human and institutional. Herein the Religious Institution has become negative to man himself, to his very existence. His birth is the crowning evil, and his life-task ought to be to get rid of this evil, by getting rid of himself, and indeed of selfhood itself.

Very naturally monasticism has thriven in the Orient, especially among the Buddhists with their pessimistic view of man and the world. In Occidental Christianity it has played an important part, and still has its hold, though the claim is made that the monks of the West are very different from those of the East, inasmuch as the latter flee from the world as something incurably bad and hopeless, yea full of contamination for the holy man, while the former propose to regenerate the world from their cloistered retreat.

2. The vow of poverty is directed against property, which is the object of the business world, in general of the Economic Order. The individual taking this vow is not to live through giving his labor and receiving from the Social Whole the value of his product. Still he has bodily wants, has hunger and thirst, which must in some way be satisfied; he needs raiment and shelter, however humble these may be.

Monasticism naturally produces an army of beggars, tramps, idlers under the guise of the Religious Institution. It is true that such results may be regarded as an abuse of the system. Still there can be little question that monastic Orders have a tendency to turn out parasites on the Social Body. They have become in some countries a monstrous evil, which legislation in recent times has sought to remedy, often by violent repression and confiscation. Monasticism at present is said to be adapting itself to the new social organism and is working for a livelihood, like other societies of people. The monastery has and always did have an element of Communism, though within the pale of the Church, which otherwise has not been lacking in the sense of property.

3. The vow of obedience to the Church runs the danger of getting into conflict with the authority of the State, and may become a source of trouble in certain unsettled conditions. Whom

shall the member of a monastic order obey in the last resort? The vow is to his religious superiors, in a hierarchical line culminating in the head of the Church. Here, then, lies the conflict, which is doubtless receding into the background in some countries, but in other countries (as in Italy and France) is a very intense and acrid cause of dissension. The Religious Institution and the Political Institution have by no means yet settled their troubles in Europe.

The struggle comes down from medieval Catholicism, which had a perpetual cause of strife in the rival claims of Church and Empire. The latter became separate in the Middle Ages, whose history largely turns on the relation between these two independent Institutions, each seeking to subordinate the other. In the Orient the priest and king were ultimately the same person, but medieval history has the differentiation between the two Institutions, with two kinds of rulers and their respective realms.

On the other hand the State has often sought to determine the Church, especially in those Protestant countries which have a State Church. Thus secular ends creep into the Religious Institution and divert it from its supreme purpose, which means its corruption. On the whole the great movement of ecclesiastical organization is toward its independence of the political body, which is the situation in the United States. But if

we go back to Asia, we find their complete unity in one head, yet even there a struggle has often arisen between sacerdotal and political authority. Europe has been the arena of the separation of the two Institutions, yet each seeking supremacy over the other. To-day the Roman Catholic Church in Europe is still engaged in this struggle, and we behold the unreconciled dualism between State and Church. Only in America does there seem to be a peaceful solution, in which both Church and State can fulfill unhindered their special ends, as well as the end they have in common, namely that both actualize freedom as institutional.

II. *The Religious Institution assails itself.* We have just seen the Religious Institution in its assault upon the secular institutional world which lies outside of it, yet has the same fundamental principle. But now the Religious Institution divides within itself, splitting up into divisions or sects which fight one another. This inner separation of the Religious Institution lies in its very nature and origin; it comes from a division which parts it from the world, it has an innate tendency to separate. The negative might of difference, or of schism, makes a great deal of the history of the Church, and its energy is by no means yet at an end.

It is not intended to affirm that such separations are always bad. In fact they belong up

to a certain point to the natural healthy development of the Religious Institution. Still they can generate the bitterest negative spirit, and transform the Religious Institution into a means of outer and inner enslavement, which is just the opposite of its end. Thus it becomes self-annihilating, it undoes itself, and it may well say of itself that Satan has crept into the sanctuary and taken possession.

1. Hate (*odium theologicum*) is the inner manifestation of this disruption of the Religious Institution. As the injunction "love one another" is the supreme one in the Christian Religion, so its opposite has a peculiar baneful character; the individual follows not simply the natural impulse of Hate, but violates his own deepest conviction and doctrine. The internal bond which makes him a member of the Religious Institution is transformed into the spirit of its destruction.

Of course religious animosity acts in the name of Religion, and beseeches God to be as vengeful as it is. Thus, however, the meaning of God is lost, the absolute Ego whose essence is to will not the personal wishes of the petitioner, but freedom, is made over into a hateful vindicator of Hate. What worse definition of the Evil One can be given? The Lord may employ human vengeance, not assisting it but making it undo itself in the end. In general we can say that the Lord's hand is seen in every negative move-



ment when it is turned back upon itself and becomes self-negative.

The Religious Institution can, then, become the fountain of that passion which it ought to extirpate first of all in the human heart. But it cannot stop with the inner spirit; it proceeds to action, which means wrong and even crime.

2. This subjective disposition of the sect or separatists soon moves forward to the objective deed, and endeavors to destroy the person. Hence arises the long list of horrors found in religious history. The heathen emperors of Rome persecuted the Christians, who to their followers became the martyrs of the Church. But the Church turns about and does the same thing to those who separate from it, producing a new martyrology opposite to its own. In the great schism of the sixteenth century the Catholics burn the Protestants and the Protestants burn the Catholics. But the new sect or division which demanded freedom for itself, will not permit it among its own people; Protestant burns Protestant, as Servetus suffered at Geneva chiefly through efforts of Calvin. In recent times we witness the same process under milder forms; now many of the sects occupy themselves with trials for heresy, employing such weapons as they still keep in their armory, since the State will not let them burn or torture the body.

A contemplation of the negative part which

the Religious Institution has displayed in history has driven some good souls to a denial of its mission. But we may well see that through all this conflict it is working out its freedom, and its conception of a free God, though after a diabolic fashion.

3. This brings us to the principle which is violated usually by both sides. Both destroy the Good, violate Love, disregard Freedom. Each has its own Form for which it fights; yet each is trying to reveal the same Substance. However different their methods, both have God as the content of their worship.

Thus arises a complete separation between Form and Substance in Religion. The ceremonial, the outward order, the creed of the Religious Institution remains, but its inner spirit and purpose have departed. It is at this point that the great reformer appears—Christ, Socrates, Luther, etc. The religious organism destroys the good, the moral, in fine, destroys the free spirit.

Thus the Religious Institution is disrupted within, and has internally undone itself. Men still speak of doing God's Will, which, however, is anything but divine and universal. So follows the next stage, in which we have a Religious Institution without a God, who is thus cast out of his own establishment. This is the complete negative form of the Religious Organism, as it

rejects the very thing which created it, and for which it exists.

III. *The Perverted Religious Institution.* We have reached a phenomenon which has shown itself in Orient and Occident, in ancient and modern times. A Religious Institution appears whose object is to deny and destroy the God-consciousness which primarily called forth and kept alive the Religious Institution. An Institution has begotten an Institution to undo an Institution; such is the extreme point of institutional perversion. Such a condition begins when religion becomes opposed to morals, when the formal element crushes out the ethical content of religion. The moral consciousness rises up, becomes negative, and moves toward atheism, when the Religious Institution has shown itself immoral.

In three different epochs and in three different portions of the world, the Perverted Religious Institution has come to the front, indicating that it has its counterpart in the development of humanity. The same extreme perversion we found in the Secular Institution, which also has its process with its own negation. The three mentioned cases of the present stage we may note here, though there are many others.

1. Buddhism is declared to be atheistic (or anti-theistic). Yet it is a religion with its worship, creed and priesthood. Some say it is the

religion of a third part of mankind. It has no God, no immortality, and no freedom of the institutional kind. Its appeal seems to be altogether to the individual, who is, however, to get rid of his individuality. It developed out of Brahminism, against whose practices it was a moral reaction. According to Buddha, the Ego, human and divine, has no existence; though it appears, yet its appearance is something that ought not to be.

It may be said that Buddhism has shown itself the most persistent of all religions. It is some five or six hundred years older than Christianity, and to-day some authorities state that there are more Buddhists among mankind than there are Christians. Still it is a religion not easily understood by Occidentals, who often make opposite statements concerning the purport of leading doctrines. Then it has a variety of sects which formulate its tenets differently; particularly the great division into Northern and Southern Buddhism is well-known.

2. The second period of the Perverted Religious Institution was the Greco-Roman, which flourished some two or three centuries preceding and following the birth of Christ. The philosophers, Plato and Aristotle, still spoke of God, or the Divine, yet religion or its philosophy cannot be said to be an integral part of their systems. After their time the cultured world quite lost the

God-consciousness, the best spirits took to the study of Ethics as the only solution of the problem of the universe. Stoicism and Epicureanism chiefly dealt in ethical categories, though not exclusively; the old religion, both Greek and Roman, retained some of its rites for the people, but not only Pan was dead but the whole Greco-Roman Pantheon was dying.

At this time we see schools, sects, fraternities, in their organization partaking of the Religious Institution, yet thinking, acting, even worshiping without a God. No divine Person, but abstract Personification held sway at Rome, which became ethical, and reduced the world to its ethical category — Justice. Into this godless though ethical world, it was the function of Christianity to bring back God, the absolute Person.

3. A third period of the Perverted Religious Institution belongs to our own time and its negative spirit. The central work around which the modern movement turns is Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, which in its essence is a Titanic assault upon the God-consciousness. The result is that many societies, religious in form and origin, are non-theistic, if not actually atheistic. Often they apply the word *free* to themselves, Free Religionists, Free Thinkers, etc. But this freedom is mainly negative.

Undoubtedly these sects are benevolent, ethical, humane; they are like Buddhism, like the

Greco-Roman schools of philosophy, in being a moral reaction against external or corrupt religion. Now the word is agnosticism, the whole domain of religion is thrown out of man's spiritual interest.

There is a tendency in all these forms to go back to the Orient and to fraternize especially with Buddhism, which has lasted so long. The Greco-Roman Schools of Philosophy which stood in the place of the Religious Institution, have vanished, they had not the enduring power of Buddhism. Thus the Negative Religious Institution took the form of a Religion in the Orient, the home of Religion, but it took the form of Philosophy in the Greek world, the original home of Philosophy. But its modern form is rather psychological, the denial of knowledge or knowability—agnosticism. Religions philosophical, psychological, scientific, temples of worship, schools of philosophers with the one wise man at the head, societies of many sorts we behold shooting up everywhere in more or less decided protest against the God-consciousness.

The Perverted Religious Institution we call the whole class, not saying that they are immoral, for they are not, being for the most part a reaction from religion to morality. They are not domestic, political or social bodies; they are religious, even though they are organized for the purpose of denying or ignoring what called the

Religious Institution into existence, namely the God-conseiousness.

Here the Religious Institution has reached the point of self-contradiction and self-negation. It is thrown back to its beginning and takes a new start, asking "what is my origin?" The negation of religion means for us to rub all out and to commence over again; particularly we should erase the institutional world. We have seen that certain forms of socialism do not stop with the negation of the social order, but insist upon the negation of religion also, which is indeed getting to the bottom of things.

Such then, we take to be the general sweep of the Negative Religious Institution, terminating in its complete perversion. Religion, like every other good thing in this world, has in it an element which is always turning bad, or rather an element which the free Ego is always perverting to evil. Take the following passage from the New Testament (Acts II.): "And all that believed were together and had all things in common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." Very innocent do the words sound, but they have been employed to break up Family, Society and State; they have generated communistic schemes by the hundreds, and their influence is not yet past by any means. Another passage: "The time is short, it remaineth that both they that have wives

be as though they had none." Quit your wives, for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and that does not tolerate marriage or the Family: so the Rappists interpret the words of the Holy Book, and form a society of celibates who sever the closest ties of human existence in order to attain an utterly selfish salvation.

Even worse is the case of the Oneida Perfectionists, who claimed to carry out the pure doctrine of the New Testament in its true universality. Not only goods were held in common, but also wives, or rather women; the same sin lay at the bottom of the individual possession of a wife as of piece of land. Personal ownership is the devil whom Christ came to drive out of the world. Nothing is to be your own, least of all, wife and child; if you dare think of them as your own and love them, you have committed the great sin for which severe religious discipline must be inflicted. Mr. Nordhoff in his book (*Communitistic Societies of the United States*, p. 292) has given an account of a scene at which he was present during such a discipline at Oneida. A young man was charged with thinking too much of the young woman who had been assigned to him by the society for the purpose of "stirpiculture," and who expected to make him a father. The charge was proven and he was required to abandon her and hand her over to another man, in order to atone for the great sin of loving the mother of his unborn child.



This of course far outstrips monasticism in its assault upon the monogamous Family. For monasticism simply abstained from marriage and made its followers celibates, but the Oneida doctrine assails directly the love of man and woman as the basis of the domestic Institution, condemning it as the "exclusive and idolatrous attachment of two for each other," which it is the first duty of the religion of Christ to root out of the human heart. No lascivious custom of the lowest tribes of the human race, no passage in the most besotted literature of heathen antiquity when it was sinking out of existence in its last sensual debauch, excites such disgust as this "Christian Institution."

And yet there is no doubt that the founder of the Oneida community was a man of conscience; so too were his followers. What conscience can become when it casts off the training of the race to institutional life can be seen in this example, though conscience be called the supreme ethical arbiter and even "the voice of God Himself." On the whole, Oneida has given the most complete instance hitherto realized, of the Negative Religious Institution—a Religious Institution which directly and positively annihilates Religion as it has unfolded in the evolutionary movement of the race. This movement the reader will now contemplate with relief in what follows.

### III. THE EVOLUTION OF THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTION.

Just as in the most highly organized Religious Institution there is a continual descent toward Atheism, a lapse to the negation of the God-consciousness, so there is the corresponding ascent, the rise out of its lowest forms which re-enacts substantially the development of religion in the race, and of the Religious Institution. Thus the negative element is seen to be always in the process of being undone, overcome, transcended. This is the reason why the Evolution of the Religious Institution among men, as well as of other Institutions, means so much in our day. To the inner decay of institutional life, of which instances can be pointed out in many places, and which is not to be disguised, there is the corresponding countercurrent in the other direction, the incessant re-birth and fresh unfolding of the Religious Institution in the present. The Evolution of Religions is not, therefore, to be considered an isolated movement, it is the answer and the antidote to the negative religious movement.

The beginning of Religion is not to be located internally (in some special faculty or activity) nor externally (in some special place where it was revealed to man). The human consciousness and the God-consciousness are counterparts, and

belong together, and develop together; the first self-knowing of the Ego is the first cognition of the divine Ego; I cannot know myself as knowing the world without recognizing the absolute Self in the world. The basic fact of epistemology is that all cognition (from sensation up to thought) is recognition (of the Ego in the object, even of the absolute Ego itself).

Given man as self-conscious, then, he is in the same act God-conscious, and in the same degree. When he begins to know himself, he begins to know God; or we may turn the statement about and say, when he begins to know God, he begins to know himself—Self being both and in both, human and divine. Here lies the primal basis of Theism; the total Ego in its first conscious act of knowing is theistic, it gets aware of the absolute Ego as the ground of its own being as Ego, and seeks it as the creative source of itself.

At this point we see the primordial theistic act: this finite human Ego must make itself one with the infinite divine Ego; the former must will the Will of the latter, yet for the purpose of vindicating the former. That is, man wills God's Will, yet God's Will is ultimately to secure man's Will. All human Will is not to carry itself out individually and immediately, but universally and mediately, through the absolute Will. The particular Person must subordinate himself to the universal Person, whose end is to secure the particular

Person — not one, but all. The immediate or natural Will is anti-institutional; it must will the universal Will in order to attain itself as Will through Institutions. The Religious Institution in its humblest stage mediates the rude desire, passion, impulse of the individual, and compels the act of the savage to be religious, first of all, and that is the beginning of Theism.

The theistic act has many forms and gradations, manifesting itself from the lowest to the highest of humanity. What is the best method of ordering the very complicated phenomena of the religious consciousness is a question which has been variously answered by investigators, and the subject is still under discussion. Still we believe that certain lines can be run through this dark, confused and partly unexplored territory which will help the reader see its general boundary as well as the outlines of its main provinces.

We shall first endeavor to bring out the common yet more or less implicit element in all religions; then we shall look at this one inner genetic element unfolding into the vast multiplicity of religions; finally we shall seek to discover the process which is working in all these religions, to the end of realizing itself in one religion, or rather in one Religious Institution. These stages we shall designate as follows: —

I. *The Unreligious Process*, which gives the primal living germ of religion in the Self, or

Ego, and which generates all the diversity of religious beliefs among men — which fact leads us to the next stage.

II. *The Multireligious Process*, which deals with the religions of the world in their separation, seeking the principle of organizing them, and applying it to the vast chaotic mass, which thus begins to manifest an inner psychological order realizing itself in a new religious Institution — wherewith we come to the following.

III. *The Omnireligious Process*, which has to do with the process of all religions in their multiplicity unfolding into the one universal Religion, which is actualized in an Institution. Thus the third process is a return to the first or unireligious principle, which, however, has now become actual through the multireligious Process in the united Institution of Religion, all-embracing, freedom-securing, truly catholic or universal. Such, at least, is the outlook which we have to take at this point, though the reality be still distant.

In the Religious Institution the ordering is far more intricate and complex than in the Secular Institution. The latter has the one starting-point in the human Ego evolving itself on a single line toward institutional freedom, through the mastery over Nature within and without. (See the preceding instances in Family and Society.) But the Religious Institution has two

Egos, the human and the divine, in its process, both also starting-points and both originative and self-determining by their very character, yet both at opposite poles of the universe. Nor is Nature absent with her determinations, adding to the infinite variety of religious manifestation. Science in these days is apt to take its point of view and its method from the Nature-element in religion, but this procedure is insufficient though it is not to be left out. The human soul and God also belong in the religious process of humanity, furnishing not merely material for the so-called Science of Religion, but being its two creative centers, opposite indeed as finite and infinite, but always coming together and uniting themselves in the supreme act of Free-Will unfolding itself in the Religious Institution.

I. THE UNIRELIGIOUS PROCESS. The term *religion* implies that there is a common religious act in all humanity. The humble savage and the cultivated Christian are both religious; can we catch and formulate the factor which joins both in this unity? If it is possible to do so, we have reached down to the *unireligious Process* in man.

In all religions there is a movement conceived to be of the Divine Ego, which is also the movement of man's own primordial Self. In all religions there are found three fundamental agencies or rather agents, who differ completely from one another, yet are in more or less prom-

inent co-operation for the government of the world. These are positive, negative, and mediatorial, or God, Devil, and Restorer. Thousand-fold are the forms which this original process of religion takes on among mankind. Sometimes one of these divine Persons seems to disappear or to be suppressed, often two of them are openly put out; still they will intrude themselves in clear daylight at times, and are always at work secretly, giving abundant occupation to God and Man..

Let us take, for illustration, that Book which has been the religious trainer of a large, and, as we think, of the most advanced part of the human race, the Hebrew Bible. Its glorious theme is the one only God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, of Man and the Cosmos. All the animals, the sun and moon and firmament He evokes from chaos by His fiat; He creates the first human pair and places them in the primordial Home, Eden. But who is this who now appears upon the scene, rather unexpectedly? We thought we had all Creation before us, but here comes a new agent, of whom no account has hitherto been given; apparently somewhere from the outside he creeps into this created world and asserts his part in it with very considerable effect.

Thus the Old Testament opens with an account which is characteristic of the whole of it, for the Devil's part runs through it from beginning to

end. Not well can the matter be otherwise, for with him is the grand conflict; the arch-fiend is not a shadowy specter to the old Hebrew, but exists and is at work in the world. Else indeed the Holy Book of the Ages were merely the record of a sham battle. There is no doubt, however, that this element is kept in the background of the Old Testament, it is not yet fully explicit or acknowledged, or possibly it is intentionally suppressed. For Egypt lies behind Judea, and Egypt had its Apophis or the Serpent in one of its sacred Triads. The Mosaic reaction or reformation is anti-Egyptian, yet cannot help showing its origin. So that Egyptian Apophis creeps into the Hebrew creation and stays there in spite of all attempts to drive him out. Nay, we shall see at last that he comes to be openly acknowledged.

Thus it will be seen that the great monotheistic book, the Hebrew Bible, is really dualistic, has to be so in order to be a Bible; yes, it has to be so in order to be religious at all. Unless this two-foldness or self-opposition were in it, it could find no response in the religious consciousness or in any consciousness. The Hebrew starting-point as shown in Creation, when seen in its completeness, is not monotheistic but rather ditheistic, not intentionally so, it would seem, yet really so. The reader will understand that I do not consider this to be a defect; rather is it a necessity of



religion, indeed a necessity of mind itself. The whole history of the Bible shows that it has unconscious strands running through it which are far deeper than its conscious ones, and which succeeding ages bring to light along with their own spiritual birth and development.

Nor must we omit to note with attention that the third principle of the universal religious Triad, that of Mediation, Restoration, Salvation, is also found in the Old Testament. The line of Hebrew Worthies, Patriarch, Lawgiver, King, Prophet, were incarnations of the mediating principle scattered down Time, not perfect, yet suggesting and often prophesying the Perfect One who was to come. In fact the grand object of the Bible is to mediate God with fallen man, the victim of Satan, that second Person, deemed extra-human and extra-divine, who has slipped into Creation, and who can be overcome, apparently not by God as immediate, but through man's own mediating power.

So we may affirm that the Old Testament has as its essential process what we have called the fundamental religious Triad, which is the creative movement of the God-consciousness itself. But it has this in an implicit, not yet developed, largely unconscious form. It is true that some theologians have thought that they must somehow get rid of the part of Satan or the Evil One in the earlier portions of the Old Testament, this

being done in the interest of an abstract and narrow monotheism. Even the cunning Serpent has been sophisticated out of Eden by theological ingenuity, which claims that the serpent there is "an animal and nothing more," a mere snake crawling among the bushes of Paradise. The curse pronounced upon it is for its "animal nature," which of course it cannot help, and the Lord's execration is directed against an innocent object. Or shall we mitigate animosity into profanity in this case, considering the Lord to have exclaimed to a disagreeable reptile on his path, in true anthropomorphic fashion, "damn the snake." To such dilemmas our theological brethren sometimes reduce us by their exegesis.

The preceding dualism, God and Satan, Good and Evil, became a conscious element of the Hebrew religion through the Babylonian Captivity, which brought them into contact with the Persian mind. This, as is well known, makes two opposing self-existent deities (Ahuramazda and Aouramainyu) the basic principle of the Godhead. It is the most influential and persistent form of Ditheism that has yet arisen among men, and it still exists, doubtless in a modified form, among the Parsees of the Orient. In the age of the New Testament the Jews are full of the consciousness of Satan, and Christ repeatedly speaks of him and takes him for granted in the minds of his hearers. And their Messianic hope rests upon

that as yet unrealized third Person, the Deliverer, who has been an ideal element of their consciousness quite from their beginning.

Now this process which we have just traced in the Old Testament, and which, imaged as tri-personal yet as one great process of man's restoration, is to become fully explicit in the New Testament, is really one form of the unreligious process, which must be found in every religion to make it religion. We may deem it the primordial religious cell, out of which are produced all religions in all their diverse manifestations from the lowest to the highest. In the savage it is only a simple cell with its nucleus or nucleolus, still it is the creative archetypal form which unfolds into the most complex religious organism. By such an illustration we do not wish to imply that this is a biological process; on the contrary it is that of the Ego itself in the movement of its very selfhood.

We repeat that as soon as man is self-conscious, he must be God-conscious; the human Ego and the divine Ego are correlates, the one cannot center itself within except by centering the Self without, in the world, at the same time and in the same degree. Often it has been noticed that the little child, at the dawning of consciousness and of speech, seems to be in a peculiarly intimate relation to the Invisible Person, speaking and thinking of Him in a way that is its own,

and not an echo of its environment. To account for this fact some poets and some philosophers have conceived of a pre-existent state of unity with God which the born soul best remembers in early childhood. And the primitive man as a rule calls up far more easily, and communes with far more directly, his deity than does the civilized man. It is often said that the child is nearer God than the grown person, which means that the child is nearer to its God than the grown person is to his, which means again that the child's Ego is not so widely separated from its divine counterpart as is that of the grown person. Years and culture deepen the chasm between God and man, who however must be united; the more advanced civilization requires the more profound mediation between the human and divine Egos. The sacred Triad is the fundamental chord or the key-note which runs through the whole symphony of man's religion and unifies all its divine notes into one harmony.

With the coming of the doctrine of Evolution, new questions have been raised in regard to the origin of the Ego. When did the Self break through the veil of Nature into its own sanctuary and there behold itself face to face? Very vague at first and very slow must have been the process; still it must have had its limits in time, the before and the after. With greater definiteness the place can be pointed where the human animal, or

perchance the man-monkey first got a peep into the looking-glass of his own soul and then began to know himself. Many historic indications cause us to turn our faces to the Valley of the Nile as the arena of man's earliest self-awareness, the most important epoch in his history, namely that which made him man. But more emphatically than any recorded fact does Nature select the land of Egypt for man's primordial initiation into manhood. From the providential Nile-hand reaching out of the Unknown and feeding the dwellers of the Valley arose the God-consciousness along with its corresponding man-consciousness, and therewith also began civilization.

Ancient Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians were still in his time the most religious of men, though he saw them when they were certainly several and probably many thousand years old. Egypt is doubtless the home of the Religious Institution. That which we called the primordial religious cell, the divine Triad, is found in Egypt at a very early period and through all its history. This Egyptian Trinity, though often broken up and scattered into a vast multiplicity of deities, is what persists underneath and through them all, and finally is transmitted or rather transforms itself into the Christian Trinity. The fundamental religious Triad of Egypt is Osiris the Creator, Typhon the Destroyer, and Horus the Restorer. With Osiris the male is

often coupled Isis the female, their son is Horus ; thus rises the divine Triad as domestic, Father, Mother, Child. It is of interest to note that the old Egyptians put the mother-principle as well as the father-principle into their Godhead. Moreover Isis the mother with her child Horus in her arms was an object of popular worship in Egypt, and was reproduced in thousands of pictures. Here is the prototype of the Madonna and Bambino. But what shall we say to that element of the Osiris myth which recounts the suffering, death and resurrection of a God, who is too a member of the divine Triad? Then we find also the idea in Egypt that an atoning sacrifice of a God is necessary for the salvation of man. The Egyptians were in one way polytheistic, but through all the multiplicity of their Gods runs the conception of Trinity as the uni-religious process both of themselves and of their deities. And there is strong probability (for it cannot yet be settled as a fact), that this process dawned upon the human Ego in the Nile Valley.

Still we find it everywhere. In the Vedas the religious Triad is present, working more or less implicitly in the deities Indra, Agni (or Rudra) and Vishnu (or Mitra). Vishnu is often mentioned in the Vedas and is specially distinguished for his three steps which measure all things. Far more explicit is the triune movement in later Brahminism, which has the one supreme deity

who by self-contemplation produces the universe— Brahma; second is Siva or Mahadeva, the Destroyer; third is Vishnu the Restorer. This is the Hindoo Trimunti, whose sacred name is pronounced trinally in the three letters, A, U, M. A Triad has also been pointed out in Buddhism, which seems to be largely an offshoot of the Destroyer. Another great world-religion which developed out of early Hindooism was the Persian religion, that of Zoroaster. This is famous for its pronounced Dualism, its positive and negative Gods in eternal conflict. Still it developed its mediating third deity in Mithras whose worship was well known to later Rome, but was probably active in an implicit way in the earliest Persian religion, since the name is that of one of the Vedic Gods.

In the Taoism of China the religious Triad has been found. A European author has declared that "the mystery of the Holy Trinity was revealed to the Chinese five centuries before the coming of Jesus Christ," in a work by Lao-tsze, who speaks of "the three inscrutables which are combined into one," and declares the product of Supreme Reason to be "unity which begets duality which begets trinity," the latter then begetting "ten thousand things." Three principles are announced "*Yin* the positive, *Yang* the negative, and *Chi*, the harmonizer." (See the *Tao-teh-king*, c. 42, translation by Carus.)

Thus we seek to bring before the mind this unreligious Process, which may be taken as the primordial genetic unit (or cell) out of which have come all religions. It is a Process, ultimately the triple Process of the Ego, that of the Divine Ego as first grasped and uttered by the human Ego. The primal Triad we may name it, or the original Divine Psychosis, which underlies and creates all forms of Religion, showing them in their positive, negative, and restorative elements, as they appear implicitly, in the beginning. Such is the common religious act belonging to the total human race, from the lowest to the highest. It is just this primal Triad which is to unfold with the unfolding of the race.

Here, in this unfolding, we reach the next grand fact of Religion, its stupendous diversity corresponding to the diversity of institutions, peoples, races, civilizations. The original religious unit is now to express itself in every phase of externality. Being the product of the Ego and expressing the Ego, it must have the latter's separativeness or self-division, which manifests itself in the diversity of religion thousandfold. Accordingly, we shall now pass to this stage, which is the second in the Evolution of the Religious Institution of mankind.

II. THE MULTIRELIGIOUS PROCESS. This, as its name indicates, takes into account the multiplicity of Religions, which is the most striking



external fact about them. All Religions are one by their very designation, yet they are also many, and this manyness proceeds from the oneness, and will return to it, as we shall find later. The religious Triad we are to see taking on form, which will be greatly diversified in its outer manifestation.

Just here rises the chief difficulty in the study of what is usually called Comparative Religion. This vast multiplicity, how shall it be put into order? Can we find any principle of such order? The mass is indeed overwhelming, and seemingly chaotic; many writers have recently attempted its classification, without any fully satisfactory result, though certainly progress has been made. Then the information on the subject is not yet complete, though the bulk is great. And in the reports of investigators there is considerable difference and even contradiction, especially about certain Asiatic Religions.

A common division of Religion is into natural and revealed; this, however, is inadequate on a number of points. Also we hear of natural and ethical religions, those which seem to grow from the soul of the whole people, and those which are connected with the name of an individual founder, such as Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha. This distinction certainly has validity and helps us classify the forms or kinds of Religion in their relation to man. But man, on the other

hand, relates himself to religion in different ways, and so from his standpoint, which is that of the self-active Ego, Religions should also be classified. Here, then, we have two methods or points of view for the classification of Religions, which we may name the morphological (*morphé*, form) and psychological (*psyché*, soul or self).

Still more common than either of these is the division according to the way of conceiving God as the creative center or self of the universe. In this connection we hear the familiar terms, Pantheism, Polytheism, Monotheism. The main question here is, How does this given Religion regard God—is He one, many, or the All? That is, the standpoint now is theistic and inquires after the Absolute Person. For instance, Judaism and Mahomedanism are both monotheistic, hence both are classified together under the present point of view. Yet on the side of form, or morphologically, they are very different Religions.

Here then, we have three different methods of classifying Religions, which we may call the morphological, the psychological, and the theological. Each has its distinct worth, indeed each seems to be about as valid as the other. Which shall we follow? If we take one and exclude the rest, our classification has a gap, and shows incompleteness. The fact becomes apparent that these three methods supplement one another, and

that all must be somehow employed in anything like a complete ordering of the present subject.

A deeper inspection soon shows that they are not simply three separate parts of one whole, but that they form a process with one another, a psychical process which is the Psychosis. They constitute, in fact, just the process of the multiplicity of Religions, that process which runs through and orders fundamentally all religious diversity. Hence it is the basic principle of what we call *The Multireligious Process*, the one underlying movement in the manifoldness of Religion, the latter being the second stage in the total evolution of the Religious Institution.

The Multireligious Process will, accordingly, show three ways of ordering the Religions of the world; from the standpoint of the objective form, of the subjective Self, and of the absolute Self. These we shall designate as the morphological, psychological, and theological Orders.

1. *The Morphological Order.* All Religions have in common the God-consciousness, with worship, rites, creed and priesthood, which have as their object to make real in the human soul the religious Triad—God as positive (Creator), as negative (Destroyer), and as remedial (Restorer). Very imperfect is this movement in primitive Religions, almost imperceptible in fact; still it is present, though but partially and implicitly, else we could not call it religious.

Many forms of Religion will be evolved in the passage from the savage state up to the civilized. Every condition of human consciousness will show a tendency to manifest itself in some religious form. A line of these religious forms we behold lying between barbarism and civilization, with both extremes included. This morphological evolution shows man in his struggle with Nature in its widest sweep and his rise to freedom. Primarily Nature is his God who dominates him immediately and capriciously, yet leaves him a capricious being. Gradually he subjects Nature without (as a God) and within (as his Self); thus he begins to have an ethical God and begins to be an ethical Self, in the control of natural impulse and passion. In the ethical act man puts down *Naturism* both in himself and in the God; but both may be still held fast in *Nativism*, in the bonds of nation and race. The final great step is the Religion which calls on man as a religious being to renounce this *Nativism*, to give up in his Religion his nation and his race, making the same universal, inclusive of all humanity. Nay, the call is also to God that He too renounce His *Nativism*, that He be no longer merely a tribal, a national, or even a racial God, but become universal. Then He is free, having been liberated from the bonds of Nature in its widest circuit; then man too is free, having a free God, whose Will is to will Free-Will in a free world.

Thus the morphological Order starts with Nature-Religion, in which the man (subjectively) and the God (objectively) are dominated by both Naturism and Nativism. Then this Order sets forth the Ethical Religions, which have overcome the naturistic element in man and God; but may be still incumbered with the nativistic element. Thirdly, there rises the universal Religion, often called the World-Religion, which gives up both the naturistic and the nativistic element, and seeks to unite all mankind in its religious fold. Hence this last is truly a missionary Religion, having performed the deepest act of self-renunciation.

It should be noted for the sake of the reader who always wishes to keep in view the psychological thread which unifies these three religious forms with one another as well as with all Institutions, that they reveal a psychical process or Psychosis. The first is the Religion which immediately dominates the individual from the side of external Nature in both its shapes of Naturism and Nativism. The second is the Religion which separates these two elements of Nature, putting down Naturism, but leaving Nativism — a great step on the part of the individual as he now begins his inner or ethical self-control against Nature. The third is the Religion which returns to the first and suppresses both its elements, namely Naturism and Nativism, and

through such a complete mastery over all external determination of Nature, makes itself truly spiritual and free, and thereby may become universal.

The word *Nature* comes from the same root as the Latin *natus* (born, physical birth), and suggests the generative process of the physical world. The terms *Naturism*, *Nativism*, and *Nation* are allied in the same general meaning. The morphological Order shows Religion moving out of this natural element, by which it is at first determined, into the complete subordination of it, passing from the first birth (in Nature) to the second birth (in the Spirit), rising from generation into regeneration. The ascent of the religious form is graded by the degree in which it renounces the natural Self in man and God, and evolves the spiritual Self in both the human and divine Ego.

These principles as well as their movement we shall now proceed to illustrate briefly with some examples.

(1) Nature-Religions. These are to be placed first in the morphological Order, as they indicate the primal immediate form of Religion derived from Nature, and are both naturistic and nativistic. The Gods are in the main powers of Nature which are deemed spirits that must be placated. These Gods have their limits—they belong to the family, tribe, nation and perchance

race; they do not transcend their native boundaries, but are confined exclusively to their special set of people, who are remotely or directly connected by blood. The physical tie of kinship runs through all Nature-Religion, and according as this tie of blood is near or distant (domestic, tribal, national, racial), there is a corresponding division of the Gods. Thus the man is divinely determined by Nature, and both he and divinity are in the lowest state of freedom.

Still the religious Triad is present and at work in every form of Nature-Religion. There is, first, some mighty manifestation of Nature, which is the God, as in thunder, or the volcano. Secondly, the destructive character of this power makes it an evil spirit, or the God in anger. Then follows, thirdly, placation through prayer, ritual, priest, in all of which lies the conception of mediation, of a placable deity.

There are many stages of Nature-Religion. God may be thing, animal, man; thus we have three forms which have been called Fetichism, Theriotheism, Anthropoltheism. These rise in order in the African, Egyptian and Greek Religions. In Nature-Religions the ethical idea is more or less implicit, but starts the soul on its development out of its purely natural determination.

(2) Ethical Religions. The natural man begins to subject appetite, passion, desire to some

higher or ideal end, which is the good in one of its stages. Here, then, is the separation between real and ideal, and the subordination of the former has commenced in the human soul. In like manner the conception of the God has begun to be ethical, to Him also is given the attribute *good*. Moreover ethical Religions have an individual founder, a prophet, sage, lawgiver, whose name is known, and they have a place in history. They separate the Self, the individual, from Nature's mass, and start him in self-determination. Thus man is no longer subject to Naturism but asserts himself in his own self-control. Still the ethical man and the ethical Religion belong to some nation or race, and herein do not and cannot wholly separate themselves from the limits which Nature has placed upon them.

The Religions of Moses, of Zoroaster, of Confucius are ethical, but still nativistic; they have not been adopted to any extent outside of the nations of their respective founders. Their deities are likewise national as against those of other peoples; the God is also nativistic, though no longer naturistic. Moreover all these Religions are older than Christianity, yet they exist to-day, even when the nation (in the case of the Jew and the Parsee) has no political existence. An ethical Religion seems to be immortal.

But there are three great Religions which



began as ethical and nativistic, but which have in part or wholly gotten rid of Nativism, having transcended in certain portions of their followers this last bond of Nature.

(3) World-Religions. This term can be properly applied to three Religions — Mahomedanism, Buddhism, and Christianity. Of course the term is only relatively true; strictly speaking, there can be but one World-Religion, as there is but one World. By putting the three together and seeing them in a process with one another, we may possibly catch some glimpses of the coming universal World-Religion, but it is not here yet. This term, however, is not to be thrown aside, as it is very suggestive and stimulating, indeed prophetic and hopeful of the future one Religion, possibly the federation of Religions with their Constitution and Parliament.

The three World-Religions, existent and active at the present time, are no longer confined to the people or race from which they sprang, but have shown themselves capable of adoption by other peoples and races, who have therein renounced their own native Religion and Gods. This act, on the whole, must be pronounced to be the most complete act of self-renunciation which man can perform — the renunciation not simply of the individual *Self* but of the racial *Self*, both human and divine.

This is the primordial self-subjection, in which

the race conquers itself as a whole, and not merely individuals of it here and there. A whole race gives up its native religion and adopts another, which is the complete surrender of Nativism, far deeper than the ethical surrender of Naturism. For it can transform its Religion to subordinating Nature and become in so far ethical, which is the opposite of Nature. But to change Gods, and to take a different race-religion is the last abasement of the natural Self. Yet that is the eternal process kept alive by Christendom in reading and appropriating the Hebrew Bible and its Religion. Hence the Christian reader can get more Religion out of the Hebrew Scriptures than the Jewish reader possibly can, strange as the statement may seem. For the Jew naturally finds the God of his people in that Book, which, therefore, cultivates his Nativism, his racial pride and exclusiveness, while the Christian reader has to break the nativistic bonds of the Hebrew Jahveh, and make him a universal God, to whom he, too, though of a different race, can pray and be heard.

(a) Mahomedanism we place first, as it is an adopted Religion for several races, though for Arabs and Semites it is a native Religion. Thus it is not a wholly self-renouncing Religion, being still nativistic and asserting itself often by the sword. From this standpoint it is the least emancipated of the World-Religions, the least free of the bonds of Nature.

Yet it shows wonderful adaptability for the races of men—more than any other World-Religion, especially for lower races—Turanian, African, Chinese. There are also Mahomedan Aryans, though the Persian changes the orthodox dogma and becomes a heretic.

But the nativistic strand in it has the external violence of Nature against other religions and peoples. Still all, when Mahomedan, are declared to be equal religiously; politically the strongest takes the Caliphate, as the Turk, whose Nativism and even Naturism Mahomedanism does not extirpate.

Also it is a missionary religion, even if limited, for it cannot reach the European mind, though it has penetrated by conquest into Europe several times. Equally certain is it that European Christianity has not been able to convert or dispossess Mahomedanism. Asiatic Christianity, largely Semitic, went over to Mahomet, and has remained with him, as he too was a Semite. Thus Mahomedanism accentuates Nativism—which fact shows itself in the Turkish rulers, though these are not Semitic.

(*b*) The next great World-Religion is the Buddhistic, which, chiefly, is the Religion of the Mongolian race, and of the Malay in part, though it is of Aryan origin. Thus the Chinese race in this matter has renounced its native Religion and taken that of a foreign race. Still, only in part, since Confucianism and Taoism are also State

Religions in China, both of which are sprung of the Chinese race. (Here we leave out of the account several millions of Chinese Mahomedans and not a few Christians.) Thus Nativism in religion has not been wholly renounced by China as a nation.

On the other hand, the Buddhistic religion itself has had to renounce its race, being expelled from its home in India by the Brahmins. There are but few Aryans comparatively who are Buddhists, though at one time it had a strong hold on the Hindoos. So it has had to renounce Nativism and to become Mongolian mainly, or at least non-Aryan, and, of course, non-Semitic. Its method was not conquest, but conversion, hence it was in this respect different from Mahomedanism. But its local limit is Eastern Asia, and its racial limit is mainly Mongolian.

(c) The third World-Religion is the Christian, whose peculiarity is to have renounced Nativism completely; that is, the Christian Aryan race in Europe has taken its Religion from another race without reserve. The Mahomedan Religion still has in it strong Nativism, being the faith of the race which originated it, though other races have made the renunciation which it (the Arabian race) has not. The Chinese have accepted Buddhism but partially, and so have but partially renounced Nativism, though the Cingalese may have adopted it wholly.

Thus the West Aryans (in Europe) have made the most complete and absolute renunciation of Nativism in Religion, and from this point of view have done the universal religious act. And on the other hand the Christian Religion, being of Semitic origin, has completely renounced its Nativism, or racial element. The early Christian element in Asia was largely Semitic, but in a few centuries after the Christian era, another Semitic Religion swallowed it, just the Semitic or nativistic portion of it chiefly, but the Aryan portion in Europe Mahomedanism could not take, it never could submerge the Greek Church in Greece. Christianity thus was made to part with its original nativistic branch in Asia.

Grading these World-Religions, we find that Mahomedan peoples are partly nativistic (Semites), and partly not, and the Mahomedan Religion has in part renounced Nativism and in part not. In Buddhism (China) the people have partly renounced Nativism in Religion yet partly not. Still Buddhism is not nativistic and thus is more self-renouncing than Mahomedanism. But in the Christian world both the Race and the Religion have renounced Nativism.

Here doubtless lies the power of Christendom. It fulfills the idea of Religion, self-subjection of the native Ego to the universal God, which is now the act of the entire Race. Thus Christianity marks itself off from all other Relig-

ions: as a Race it has renounced and can renounce itself — not an individual, or a community or even a State, but the whole Race. That, as we have seen, is the Race's fundamental religious act — to give itself up to God, not its own God, native to the Race, but to the universal God who may be brought to it by a different Race. And this Religion too, or this God, if you please, must also give up his own Race and be no longer a racial God.

In this sense of double renunciation the Christian world has the most religious Religion, being that of a Race which has given up its own native God (or Gods) for the God of another Race, who, however, in turn has renounced His Race, and has thus made Himself universal. The movement of Religion is, therefore, to get rid of the blood-tie which is the essence of Nature-Religions, and to establish a new tie, the universally human tie, which is to be reached through and realized by the double or indeed treble renunciation — by renouncing the natural tie of blood and the native tie of Race, and adopting a self-renouncing God.

On the other hand, the Semitic is supposed to be the creatively religious Race, since it has originated two of the three World-Religions. And it has never had a religion imposed upon it from without, at least not in historic times. Thus the Semitic Race, Jewish, Christian, or

Arabian, has never had to renounce the native Religion or Nativism in Religion — which fact has its great significance still to-day. And the Semitic God has never had to renounce his own Race and go over to another Race, and there be worshiped as a self-renouncing God by a self-renouncing Race. Hence the Jews are of all humanity the most stubbornly nativistic, renouncing neither their racial Self nor their racial God. The Chinese Buddhist as individual, does both, but not his Race.

These three World-Religions are at present in a process, we might say, in a world-process with one another. Their localities are separate in general, they are arranged almost on a line, starting from the Pacific of the Eastern Hemisphere, and reaching to the Pacific of the Western. Buddhism is East Asiatic, Mahomedanism is West Asiatic or intermediate, Christianity is European and American. As already indicated, they all have been great missionary Religions, converting nations and races. But this they are no longer, not one of them, though they are still active among foreign peoples; at most, however, they convert individuals, not nations or races. Each has drawn pretty firmly and fixedly its religious limit against the other.

Neither of these World-Religions apparently is going to convert the other through its Religion. But the secular Institutions of Christian Europe,

the social and political especially, are the potent influences of the new conversion. Hardly the Oriental Family will be reached at present, being the genetic Institution and closely connected with Religion. But Commerce, the Economic Order is taking these peoples of the East in hand, and as it has to be secured by law, it is necessarily followed by the political Institution.

Thus the Orient is being placed under what may be called the Christian Secular Institution, which is to be supported and vindicated by the law. The great instance is the English administration of India. The railroad, telegraph, newspaper, the steamship, inventions, are uniting the Hindoo peoples, socializing them in a universal way which may be called Christian. It is said that the king of England has more Mahomedan subjects than the Sultan. What does that mean? A training to the English political Institution, which leads ultimately to freedom.

The federation of the world or its political unification will probably take place before its religious unification. So it was in the old Roman period. The East has to be trained to the right of the individual — which is Occidental, specially Anglo-Saxon — as secured by Institutions. Neither any Oriental Religion nor the Occidental one, which is of Oriental origin, can give that. But the Aryan Secular Institution can, and the present is its epoch for universalizing itself. The



time has come when the Occident must requite the Orient, which gave to it the Religious Institution and the God-consciousness, with the gift of its Secular Institution which is to make valid Man-consciousness, this being also an element of the Christian Religion. Apparently the Orientals are not going to take directly our Religion, but they will and must take our State with its Law. Political absolutism is even there to vanish first.

Such, then, are the three great World-Religions, all of which are brought at present into mutual contact as never before, and are beginning to manifest hints of a process with one another, which has a great future before it. The political trend of the age suggests some kind of federal bond, which may bring unity, yet secure freedom.

The thought of the World-Religion is the concluding stage of the morphological Order, which began with Nature-Religion as its first form, also called of animism, which is a kind of natural Pantheism, and which Waitz defines thus: "A spirit dwells in any sensible object." All sensation in the savage mind easily becomes animistic; he is naturally theistic or God-fearing, which tendency the more liberated soul condemns as superstitious. Such liberation is first found in an ethical Religion, which is the training out of mere Naturism, whereby the Ego begins to know itself as the determinant of Nature. Finally the strength of

the Self reaches the point where it can cast off Nativism and establish approachingly a universal Religion. The Ego now knows itself as the determining factor in Religion, and will proceed to make its own Order, starting from itself in its primal sensuous activity.

2. *The Psychological Order.* In the multi-religious Process a new ordering comes to view when it is looked at from the standpoint of the Ego. The diversity of religion is seen to be also psychological, and corresponds to diverse stages of the mind. There is an evolution of the Ego passing from the lower to the higher forms of God-consciousness, from sense-perception through representation to thought.

The preceding Order, the morphological, may be said to start with Nature, and to show religion rising out of and putting down the natural element throughout, rising out of and then putting down in succession both Naturism and Nativism. This movement orders from its point of view the grand multiplicity of religions as they have appeared on the earth. It takes their forms objectively as so many natural phenomena, and reveals just their line of conflict with the external determination of Nature.

So we come to the Ego, the subjective principle, with which Nature, in the preceding movement, has been deeply though implicitly in conflict. For the essence of the Ego is freedom, and it

seeks gradually to throw off the external determination of Nature, and to move toward a free religion. Accordingly we are now to behold the Ego as the inner or subjective determiner of the order of religions.

The human Self or Ego cannot be, cannot work, without involving the divine Self, the absolute Ego. The act of projecting myself as object, which is an act of will, finds an object already existent in the world, which I perceive or know, and which is the other of me, completely external to my Ego. Now what is this knowing the object? I have to re-enact the will creating the object, in order to know it; I too must posit the object in the world out of my own Self, not producing it immediately, but reproducing the divinely creative act which made it object in the first place. Every act of my knowing the external thing, be it percept, image or thought, presupposes, yea reproduces the will creating the same, namely the world-creating will, God. The primal activity of my self-conscious Ego is only through a pre-existent activity of the Divine Ego. The movement of my Self in knowing the world is implicitly the movement of the other Self creating the world, which is in truth just that which I do know. Psychology, therefore, which is the science of the human Self, is properly supplemented by Theology, the science of the Divine Self.

Hence the stages of my knowing the objective world are the stages of my knowing God. Thus the psychological Order can determine the religious Order. My Ego, sensing the object, senses also God, the Will making the object, the creative Ego whose act is the object. And this object stimulates me through the senses to reproduce itself not as so much blank matter but as the very process of its creation.

Also I separate the immediate thing of nature from its creative Ego, as I separate myself from what I do or make. Thus I have an image of Him which I as Will reproduce in an object; I make the maker, in fact I make the object over in the image of its maker. Thus the outer image of God appears, often called the idol; Art is born, the child of Religion whose original function is to transform the object so that it reflects the image of its creator.

Such we may name the symbolic act of the religious mind. The Ego puts into the immediate thing of Nature a divine meaning—the creative Will of the Universe. This is the natural symbolism which rises in every soul that sees. The artificial symbol appears when the Ego transforms the thing of nature, puts its act of Will into the same, making an image of the universal maker or Will.

The savage and the child stand nearest to God, everything seen or heard has a tendency to be-

come Divine Will. Yet this is the lowest God, or lowest phase of Him, in which Nature is a series of special acts of Divine Will, or even special deities in each thing. Science is to get rid of this view and introduce a new utterance of Nature for man in law, which is itself ultimately Divine Will.

The Greek world made the God in the form of man, employing the highest shape of Nature. The Orient shaped the Gods as animals or commingled forms of man and animal; but the Greek humanizes the God, throwing away the lower animal, and using the human body. Asiatic mind shows the struggle of the Ego to get rid of Nature and come to itself. Still the Greek statue is not a portrait, but has in it a reflection of the Universal Ego, the creative Ego as such, the Divine Self.

It is plain that the individual Ego, knowing the object, will call forth three grand phases of religion, as this Ego is Sense-perception, Imagination or Thought. The chief struggle is for the last, in which the Ego comes to see itself as universal Ego, or to recognize God as Spirit. Such is the Hebrew movement. Moses is the destroyer of idolatry (golden calf), his people must make the transition out of Egypt into Judea, or out of the imaginative stage of religion into the spiritual stage, which is that of thought.

The Greeks, though the beautiful idolaters,

had also a struggle of the same kind, especially uttered by their philosophers. The Divine must be pure spirit; Athena sprang direct from the head of Zeus without going through Nature's process of birth and growth. He was father, but by spiritual creation, and she was Wisdom herself. He was, however, involved in the process of nature, so the Athenians set him aside almost, never finishing his grand temple in their city. Athena is the Mythos of Spirit — when she is worshiped, it is the process of mind as divine.

Thus the image leads up to the thought which created it, and the religion of the image passes over into the religion of thought, which is the creative principle of the human Self grasping the absolute Self as creative, the highest form of knowing God as the supreme self-conscious Person. To behold the Divine as the fundamental process in everything is the human Ego re-enacting the Divine. God is in the world ever creating the world, and man must not only see Him there abstractly, but unite himself with His creative process in order to know even the simplest object. To live in His presence it is no longer necessary (at least not for the religion of thought) to flee from the world and to work the soul up to a special form of vision beatific — the vision of the merest external thing has a divine counterpart if beheld creatively. God making the cos-

mos is the universal self-conscious Ego in its own process of Self, and I become one with the Divine Ego when I enter into its process through thought and return with it into itself. Thus I do not lose myself in ecstatic vision, but realize it fully, completing my own individuality by filling it with the universal Self.

On the other hand it must be stated that as man needs God, so God needs man. Without a free humanity there is no free deity. Finite man knows God, and God knows Himself in man, beholds Himself reflected in the finite Ego. But this finite Ego must rise to the conception of the universal Ego and behold the same in its process, before God can truly see Himself in man's Self. In the preceding section on the Morphology of Religion we have witnessed a gradual ascent from the lowest Nature-Religion to Christianity, from unfreedom to freedom, though Christianity itself manifests various stages of freedom. What does this mean? God advances into a consciousness of himself through the advance of man; a very imperfect image of Himself he beholds in the African's fetich or in the Calmuck's praying-machine; still it is an image of Him.

The conscious Self is an eternal intuition of Self, both as human and divine. This is the primal Psychosis which, beholding its own process of the Self as man's and as God's, unites the two sides in one act which is verily the act of

Faith. In every form of religion there must be Faith, this immediate consciousness of unity between the human and divine Ego. As I am self-conscious, so God is self-conscious, and these two acts of self-consciousness are one in Faith, which may not be able to explain itself but nevertheless asserts itself. As already often declared, the human Ego cannot be without the divine Ego as its counterpart, which, however, includes it, is one with it in the process of Faith. I separate God from me as another Self, but I must bring Him back to me and have Him include me in his universal Self, which act is still mine, and I include Him likewise in the process of my Self, becoming thereby like Him.

Faith is founded on the oneness of the Self in Man and God. In a sense we may regard it as deeper than knowledge since it is or may be unconscious, requiring no conscious act of will for its exercise. Thus Faith cannot help itself, its being is one with the Ego, which has this immediate unconscious principle. Man is more than he knows, he is before he knows, he is what he is before he knows what he is; he is the potential unconscious Self. Into him is born the whole world of institutions, which he is to remake in order to possess consciously.

Accordingly the psychological Order will show Religion manifesting itself in correspondence with the three chief stages of Psychology — Sense-per-



ception, Representation (or Imagination), and Thought. In consonance with this division we may consider these stages as Sense-Religion, Image-Religion and Thought-Religion.

1. Sense-Religion takes the immediate sensuous object as God who is present in Nature not as a power or cause behind it, but as a particular and in this particular thing here and now. This phase of religious consciousness senses God immediately in the object of sense, as this may by chance be met with; there is no universal side, at least, not explicitly so; God is completely particularized in the material thing present, not as its maker but as the thing itself. He is not the beyond, not the unseen; this primitive religion can as yet make no such distinction.

Still it has the faint shadow thereof, a far-off suggestion of God as spirit distinct from Nature, since Nature herself forces this distinction upon the senses. The unusual occurrence, as the storm, the earthquake, thunder, breaking in upon the customary routine of the primitive man rouses his terror at another power, superior, different from his own. This power he must placate by incantations, gestures, and sacrifice, hence rises worship, which takes the form of magic, or the immediate control over natural phenomena.

Thus we discern the original Triad in the primitive Sense-Religion, which shows in its process a positive, negative, and mediating element.

The primitive sensuous man is a being of pleasure and pain; when the latter comes to him from some outside object, that object is an evil power, a destroyer whom he must conciliate. The Sense-Religion starts with the primal division of sensation, pleasure and pain, which division must be harmonized by a form of religious worship.

The Sense-Religions correspond quite to what we have already designated as Nature-Religions, the two kinds are two different ways of ordering the same general phenomenon. As the Sense-Religions are determined by the particular objects of nature, and as these objects are of many gradations (as mineral, vegetable and animal), the Sense-Religions show a certain degree and order in accord with natural objects. Of this classification, however, we cannot here take any account.

Sense-Religion mediates every sensation through God, and thus has its profound significance for all religion. Sense-perception has this original divine substrate in its process, being a mental recreation of the sensed object. But after the percept comes the image which also has its religion.

2. The Religion of the Image is based on the separation which is made by the Ego in the stage of Representation. The image of the sensuous object is separated and evolved from its implicit state which it has in Sense-perception, and made

explicit before the mind. (See *Psychology and the Psychosis*, Chap. Second on Representation.) But now, in the religious consciousness, the image of God, of the All-Power, which was implicit in the Sense-Religion, is separated and projected into an independent form which may be internal as well as external. Primarily this All-Power has to be reproduced in and by the Ego, and thus spiritualized, becoming an image or concept, and being no longer a sensuous object, a fetich.

Herewith springs forth the Imagination in a marvelous play of forms, being freed from its subjection to the material thing. Ariel is liberated, no longer pegged up in wooden log, and he flies to the ends of the Earth and especially to the Heavens above. This is the stage in which Mythology flourishes. The deity is now separated from the storm and is imaged as the power in it or behind it; but the Mythus causes him to step forth from out of the cloud and to show himself in his own form and to vindicate his divine right by his deeds. Every people has, must have some kind of a Mythology, which manifests an essential stage of religion and of man himself.

All civilized religions are more or less in the imaginative stage; in order to be civilized a people must be able to free its universal principle from material nature, and to put the same into its own

form, in word and act. The Hindoo religion has been called expressly the religion of the Imagination, having on the one hand its abstract and universal idea as Brahm, and on the other the wildest extravagance of fanciful figuration of the Gods.

It is in this stage that the human Ego makes the distinction, very important in man's advancement, between the transitory and the eternal, the appearance and the essence, the finite and the infinite. This distinction is never to be lost in any religion, though it takes many forms. For instance, in the Hindoo religion we may say that the finite (or mortal) makes itself infinite (by its own self-negation or by mortification of the flesh). Contrariwise we may say that in the Christian religion, the infinite (God) makes itself finite (in the son). The same distinction is found in the known and unknown, the latter reaching even the unknowable, at which point it contradicts itself.

Here also is the sphere of the religious symbol, which has inherently the separation into form and meaning. When the religious mind asks, what does this rite, emblem, etc., mean, it is calling for thought, which is the next stage.

3. The Religion of Thought has its fountain in the Thought of the absolute Ego. The human Ego is Thought, the absolute Ego is Thought, and the two sides are unified ultimately by

Thought, which is the common creative principle of both.

When in my thinking and knowing I think and know the universal spirit as the genetic source of all things, I have to re-create the process of creation, and I rise from world-consciousness (the finite) to God-consciousness (infinite). My thought of the object finds the process of the Ego in the object, my thought of God finds the process of the Ego to be His, which is the absolute process. Thought, therefore, will take the undetermined or the infinite or even the unknown of the previous imaginative stage, and will unfold within it the process of the absolute Self.

On the other hand, God as Thought must finitize himself in order to know himself, in order to be a self-conscious Ego. Religious Thought has as its supreme content God's self-conscious knowing, which is the absolute process of the divine Ego. This is the divine Psychosis, the Ego which separates itself within itself and becomes finite in order thereby to return to itself as self-knowing. The content of Religion is the absolute spirit knowing itself through the mediation of the finite spirit which is thus an inherent element of God's own self. I am to know God, but God has to know me in order to know Himself.

The Religion of Thought has an ethical content on the side of the Will. God is the Good, wills the Good, which is ultimately freedom, or more

explicitly, the Free-Will which wills Free-Will. We have already stated that ethical religions have generally had an individual founder who is known and named, as Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ. For the man must appear who has risen to willing the Good and realizing the same in his personal conduct and life. Thus he may will a higher Good than even the Gods of his country and of his people, with whom he collides at first, till they accept him or his Good. Such is the Reformer who may be more godlike than the Gods, and who is often, therefore, canonized or even deified. Socrates is a kind of exception, though he was more divine than the divinities of his own age; he probably more than any other mortal, founded the Ethical as it is in itself, without its religious form, in its pure abstraction. In him we may see that the Religion of Thought has become Thought itself. So he is the Philosopher, not the Prophet, Saint, or God.

Such is briefly the psychological Order manifesting itself in three religious stages — Sense-Religions, Image-Religions, and Thought-Religions. Yet every religion has something of all three, though its dominating trait assigns it to one of the three. Man has the round — God-fearing, God-loving, God-knowing — though he have more of this or of that and less of the rest. Nor must we leave out the negative element inherent in the Ego as well as in all Evolu-

tion. The advance of religion depends on heresy. Both the heretic and the heresy-hunter belong in the grand process; Christ himself was just about the greatest of all heresiarchs.

The Religion of Thought grasps God as Thought, which is the divinely creative principle of the Universe. Here, then, we come to the Divine Ego or God as world-maker; the religious mind seeks to behold Him and to formulate Him as the universal generative principle of all things. This gives a new Order of religions, the theological or theistic, which through Thought passes out of the Subjective Ego as determiner to the objective Ego as determiner, of religion. This is what we are to look at next.

3. *The Theological Order.* The absolute Self now is seen manifesting itself in all religions, which gives the various systems of Theism. In the multireligious Process this is the third stage, since it returns in a manner to the morphological Order, yet with a difference. Morphology gives the order of Nature, beginning with Nature-Religion and tracing its movement upwards till it vanishes into the World-Religion through the Ethical. But the theological Order traces God in Nature, giving God-forms creative of Nature rather than the Nature-forms creative of God. Thus it too is a kind of Morphology whose shapes show God determining Nature and not Nature determining God. The intermediate

step is man, the human Ego (in the psychological Order), who is first determined by Nature to determine God, then determines Him through the subjective Self, which finally determines the Self as objective, universal, as the creative deity.

The theological Order (or Order of the Gods) will reveal itself in three movements, that of Natural Theism showing the immediate forms of the God-consciousness, that of Polytheism showing their multiplicity, that of Christendom showing their unity.

A. The Theistic Movement. As is usual in the beginning, all religions are implicit, potential, not yet differentiated. In the primitive Theism of the savage and of the lower races we can always observe phases of the three main forms of God-consciousness: Monotheism, Pantheism, and Polytheism. They are not sharply divided, but are all present, yet in a kind of process with one another.

(1) The primal religious act of the human Ego is monotheistic, must be so, as it is the relation of this one Person to an absolute Person. Hence it may be said that the primal religion of man is Monotheism, by a psychological necessity, as by a physical necessity the primal domestic relation is monogamic. This of course does not mean that God revealed to man from the outside the principle of Monotheism somewhere in the beginning of things; man has to be ready for



such a revelation before he can receive it, unless God made him ready too. But in the humblest act of worship the human being has to call forth or reproduce the deity who is to aid him.

(2.) Coupled with this primordial monotheistic act is the pantheistic view in its simplest form. All the visible world has its invisible counterpart; to an outer material manifestation there is an inner immaterial soul-life. The plant, the animal, the lifeless object, have souls, so that there is the world of animal-souls, plant-souls, and object-souls. Such was and is the twofoldness in all things according to the primitive man, who holds this doctrine which has become widely known in modern science under the name of animism. Thus arises the spirit-world which is the controller of the sense-world.

Again we see that man has projected his own double nature, body and soul, into the external world. This Natural Pantheism is not so much a worship as a kind of doctrine or creed; it has been called the philosophy of the savage, but it is rather his theology, his science of the Gods. A deity is in the brook, in the tree, in the animal; also in the storm, in the pestilence, in the destructive energies of nature, which must somehow be appeased. But this requires the relation of the individual man to the individual spirit, and so we have again a monotheistic relation.

(3.) This stage we may name Henotheism, employing a term which has come into use through Max Müller. It is the primal monotheistic act already mentioned, yet something more. The religious Ego moves out of its theoretic relation in simple Pantheism and selects its deity, to whom this offering or worship is due. Out of the multiplicity of Nature and its spirits, the one most favorable or powerful is the object of special adoration.

But, with the choice of the one, many are excluded, yet implied and indeed existent. Thus along with Henotheism there must soon appear Polytheism as the counterpart. Also a new development begins: what is the relation between one and many deities? And what is the order of the many among one another?

Polytheism thus begins to organize itself, to form a system; the confused mass of deities must bring into itself some kind of precedence, where-with we witness a new stage of Religion.

B. The Polytheistic Movement. We do not treat of Polytheism merely, but of Polytheism in a process. For it never is a crystallized system of many deities, but is in a movement with all and one, with Pantheism and Monotheism, though the stress be upon the multiplicity of Gods. The Vedic Hymns of the old Aryans are polytheistic, yet they are also monotheistic and pantheistic, so that investigators are much puzzled

under which head to classify them. As if it were necessary to fix them absolutely into one class! In like manner Brahmanism has an enormous number of deities but also claims to have only one God.

Thus Monotheism is implicit and fermenting in all Polytheism, which may be regarded as a grand discipline through which Theism has to pass in order to reach its highest form in the complete religion. Probably all religions, not excepting the Hebrew, has had to go through its polytheistic stage, which seems to do for Theism what Polygamy does for the Family, being the training into Monogamy. Man, in the development of his God-consciousness, is to try many Gods and to organize them into a family or home of divinities, which must ultimately be monotheistic. This organization of many divine persons, necessarily conflicting, is the great polytheistic discipline for man, who must at last unify them.

(1.) Polytheism proper has its most famous representative in the old Greek religion and has received an imperishable portrayal in the poems of Homer. He has the upper and lower world, of Gods and men, as in animism, but makes the Gods the bearers of spiritual principles which are in conflict below on earth. The Homeric poems are primarily religious documents, which are among the most precious of their kind; their literary value is properly secondary. The signi-

fiance as well as the limitation of Polytheism is seen in Homer, who disciplines his reader out of it, by making him pass vicariously through it.

For Homer has decided elements of Monotheism, which is seen in the supremacy of Zeus (*Iliad*, Book VIII). His conflict among the Gods means their dissolution. Other polytheistic systems have also left their impress in poetry, for example, the Vedic. Then there is the dual system — Persian. The Northern mythology is also polytheistic. In Christian legend something of a polytheistic undercurrent remains in the belief in angels, demons, etc., as well as in deeper matters to be considered later.

(2.) Polytheism and Pantheism unite in a process. It is manifest that Polytheism refuses to exist by itself, and so is always calling up a process with the other forms of Theism. We may now consider it briefly in its relations with Pantheism, the negative Pantheism whose essence is the supreme All which swallows everything, that is, every form of individuality. We must note, however, that this Pantheism is very different from the naive Greek Pantheism of Nature which put a deity into every object. This Pantheism is the opposite of multiplicity and finitude, hence quite the other side of Polytheism which it seems to devour, or at least overrule.

Even in polytheistic Homer a negative pantheistic element often peeps out in the power

of Fate, quite impersonal and formless, who is at times said to be above Zeus and all the Gods. In later Greek literature this element of Fate becomes more pronounced, and in the course of history does actually overthrow the Greek Pantheon.

The most striking instance of this negative Pantheism in its process with Polytheism is seen in Buddhism in its conflict with Brahmanism.

The most famous example of a Pantheistic system in Europe is that of Spinoza, whose doctrine of Substance is really directed against the Christian Trinity as polytheistic.

Pantheism runs through the Christian Church from the beginning, specially in the Mystics. Anselm's ontological proof of God is charged by Abelard with being pantheistic. Many modern thinkers have been declared to be more or less deeply tinged with Pantheism, as Schelling, Hegel, Cousin, even Froebel, and very decidedly Goethe in one period of his life.

Pantheism in its complete negative manifestation (as in Buddhism) obliterates God as Person, as Ego. It sweeps out all Polytheism, but there remains merely the destructive might of undoing the Gods. But this absolute negative Power is next conceived as a God, indeed the one God destroying many Gods — Monotheism.

(3.) Polytheism and Monotheism thus have a process with each other. Already we have noted

a monotheistic element in all systems of Polytheism; indeed this could hardly systematize itself without some conception of a supreme God (like Zeus) over the other Gods, who are present in the Pantheon. But now Monotheism becomes strict and exclusive, the one God does not tolerate other Gods even in a subordinate relation. Here we have a Monotheism which has in it an intensely destructive principle, as it annihilates all other Gods. The negative element in Pantheism the one God adopts toward the rest of the divine family, and just in this way he asserts his personality, being armed with the destructive might which has been noted as pantheistic.

This is, in general, Oriental or Semitic Monotheism, of which we have a very striking record in three Bibles, all of them Semitic in origin.

(a). The first and the most intense monotheist is the Hebrew. Yet Jahveh, his one deity, was an evolution out of Polytheism, with which he had to keep up a continual struggle. The danger of a polytheistic relapse seems to have been never absent from the children of Israel.

(b). The early Christian religion, also Hebrew, certainly modified this intense and bitterly negative Monotheism by a reform which was in the nature of a re-action from nativism and exclusiveness. The Trinity contains a polytheistic as well as an Aryan element, wherein lie its humanity and universality.

(c). Mahomedanism in turn was a Semitic re-action against Christianity, which re-action re-asserted the one God against the triune God, and re-affirmed Semitic Nativism in religion. The appeal had such force, internal as well as external, that Semitic Christianity became substantially non-existent. The result was the grand schism or separation in Christendom, the separation of Europe from Asia, of Aryan from Semite, of Occidental from Oriental Monotheism. Here-with has developed an entirely new movement, to which we next pass.

C. The Monotheistic Movement (Christian). We are now to glance at the religion whose God-consciousness unfolds the triune God to His supreme dignity and authority in the world. This religion is monotheistic, yet not negatively, exclusively so; Deity does not destroy other deities of the divine family, but, so to speak, embraces them within Himself, in His own essence and movement. The fatherhood of God is no longer an abstract attribute, but a reality in the faith of mankind, being realized in a Son, who is also human. Hence Christian Monotheism is the completed theistic process, which includes within itself both the unity and multiplicity of deities, being the one, many, and all, in their eternal movement.

The working-out of this movement is found in the history of the Christian Church, particularly

of its central doctrine, the Trinity, which has been the source of war, persecution and much theological rancour. But it still maintains its place; in fact, it is stronger than ever in its developed form, and is manifestly going to secularize itself, that is, to show itself the basic fact of secular science as well as of religion.

We cannot think of giving here even a meager outline of Church History. The following points, however, may be noted:—

1. The primitive Church is the Church organizing itself but not yet institutionalized. The doctrine of the triune God is announced in the New Testament by Christ himself and developed later by the Greek theologians, particularly those of Alexandria, till it becomes the fundamental dogma of the Christian Church.

2. The Church is made completely institutional in the West by the Roman bishops, through the Roman power of organization and the Roman Law, though Constantine began this work. The grand fact now is that the Religious Institution, in the highest form it has ever attained, arose in the world as the Medieval Christian Church. But abuses crept into it, the chief abuse being that it did not adequately secure the new freedom which had dawned on the world, especially among the Teutonic peoples of Northern Europe. Hence a fresh schism and separation, which sought, however, to be a return to the primitive



Church out of the medieval ecclesiastical organization.

3. This is Protestantism, which with its allied Humanism, is a going back to ancient Judea, Greece, and Rome in religion, in philosophy and in culture. Protestantism, therefore, is in its origin anti-institutional as regards the Religious Institution. This characteristic it still retains, being an element of its very genesis; the result is, it has never been able to unite itself into a Religious Institution, and probably never will. As it smote the medieval Religious Institution into parts, so it cleaves itself into manifold divisions. It has brought freedom, but not institutional freedom. Hence there is the call for the coming Church which shall be as free as the Protestant and as institutional as the medieval Church.

So far the monotheistic Movement of Christianity has proceeded, bringing itself down to the present time. It still retains as its central doctrine the triune God, and thus keeps alive and active the God-consciousness in man through the very process of the Divine Self in the human soul. Herewith we have attained the final stage of what we called the theological Order in the Religious Institution.

The special meaning of the three terms here employed — morphological, psychological, and theological — has been already indicated. Still

it should be observed that each of the three terms has a wider significance which embraces the other two. For instance, we may call Mahomedanism as well as Nature-Religion a form of Religion, hence both may be classed under Morphology. Then Psychology gives the inherent movement in all three Orders, though it organizes the second (the psychological Order) in a special sense. Finally, Theology may be said to embrace not only the Order which is here given to it, but also the other two. Thus each term does not isolate itself from the rest, but takes them up into itself, so that they are completely interrelated in meaning. Metaphorically we can also say that these three Orders correspond to the three ways of seeing—outward, inward, upward.

At this point, too, another division of our subject is brought to a conclusion—that which has been named the Multireligious Process, which is the second stage in the complete Evolution of the Religious Institution. This is the most diversified and complicated stage, whose varied phenomena we have sought to bring into psychical unity in the preceding exposition. The outcome of this Process we have seen in the present separations and sects of the Christian world, which has in it, however, the struggle toward a new order of things.

III. THE OMNIRELIGIOUS PROCESS. In strict speech this would mean the Process of all Relig-

ions into one universal Religion as explicit. Already we found in the unireligious Process the one original principle of the religious movement of mankind unfolding into the multiplicity of Religions. But the omnireligious Process seeks to find the one Religion, not as implicit but as actual, which can embrace or unify all others in their essence. It pre-supposes the multiplicity of Religions, which it is to unite in their common Process. The unireligious Process was the germ or creative cell of all Religions, being the primal religious Triad; but the omnireligious Process is to show the one completed Religion; it is unireligious, also, not as implicit but as explicit, not as ideal but as real, being actualized in the universal Religious Institution.

It need hardly be said that no such Institution exists at present. Merely an aspiration it is which religious souls scattered over the world are hoping and helping to realize in some distant future. The thousand forms of religion are in a state of evolution with one another, and are travailing to bring forth what they all have in common. In this regard it must be confessed that the political is far ahead of the religious Institution. The Protestant Anglo-Saxon has evolved a State which the whole civilized world is seeking to adopt or to appropriate in one shape or other; but Anglo-Saxon Protestantism is the most dissevered, disjointed, atomic Religion that exists.

The three World-Religions are those which are seemingly most capable of some kind of unification. The fact of their being classified together by a common principle indicates their point of oneness. This, as before stated, is seen in the circumstance that they all in one way or other have put down Naturism and Nativism, and thus have transcended wholly or partially, tribal, national, and racial Religion, showing therein an element of universality, whereby they are missionary Religions. They are all ethical Religions, each after its fashion undoubtedly, for some rites and doctrines which are ethical to the one are deemed unethical by the rest. Then again all three—Mahomedanism, Buddhism and Christianity—are or claim to be humanity Religions, inculcating charity, forgiveness, love of mankind in their followers.

These three World-Religions are in a process with one another, in a sort of struggle to evolve the one World-Religion. Each has its own locality on the globe where it maintains itself substantially intact. There is no conversion from one to the other taking place, except in the case of individuals—no conversion of communities or nations from one another. Yet each still converts tribes and peoples with a lower Religion, that is, with a Nature-Religion. Christianity seems unable to move the Asiatic. There is much meaning in the historic fact that it was

tried in Western Asia and then driven out permanently—expelled from the place of its origin and early propagation. Hitherto it has been unable to get out of Europe except in one way—this is by colonization, which has largely gone to the West. America is Christian, but through the migration of European peoples, who have come to the new world to improve their social and political condition, and brought their religion along. Thus the secular motive has been the chief cause of the greatest recent spread of Christianity. And it would seem that the secular Institutions of Christendom are to become its greatest and most successful missionaries.

The omnireligious Process is as yet but a tendency and will probably remain so for a long time. We may glance at it in three different aspects, which are, however, interconnected.

I. The external organization which the one World-Religion may take, is of course not easy to determine. Already we have noted points of agreement, which have shown a tendency to crystallize themselves into something like a permanent form.

(1) The most significant gathering of representatives of all civilized Religions in Asia, Europe, and America was the justly renowned Parliament of Religions during the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. Its spirit was to find common grounds of faith and doctrine in the vast

multiplicity of Religions, from authoritative exponents of each. In what may be called sentimental religion — humanity, charity, love — there was a very general agreement. But when it came to the conception of God, the differences remained what they were before.

(2) Cases of interreligious alliances, in which different forms of Religion unite for a religious purpose common to them all, occur not infrequently though sporadically. These may be deemed centers of incipient unification, corresponding to the growth of international agreements and law.

(3) The movement of the political world is toward federation under a Constitution. It looks as if some such possibility might be predicated of the religious world, when the lesson of political federation has been learned and become a part of the universal consciousness.

In such case each religious form must recognize the validity of the other within its sphere, and even guarantee its freedom through direct enactment. This is something more than mere negative toleration, it is a positive willing of the freedom of each religion, which is to work itself out from within. Its own free evolution is what must be primarily safeguarded.

II. The great difficulty pertaining to such an alliance or federation will hover about the conception of God and its formulation. Sentimen-

tally the three great World-Religions are quite agreed already, but theologically they disagree profoundly. For this reason many religious sentimentalists declaim against theology with a good deal of intensity. But if there is to be a Religious Institution, it must give some kind of expression to the God-consciousness, which cannot rest wholly content with charity or ethics, though these are certainly not to be left out.

We have already noticed a common element in the unfolding of all Religions—the divine Triad. This germinal unitary principle has evolved itself through three main forms, which show the general movement of the religious spirit of man through the ages.

(1) In the unreligious Process we set forth the primordial divine Triad which is the first source of all Religions, even the humblest. Here we need only refer to it—the Creator, the Destroyer, the Restorer, often as one divine Person, often as three or two.

(2) It is an explication of God the Creator when he is first placed in a divine Family, in which he is the father, the generator, begetting other Gods. The Family is the creative Institution, reproducing the Ego, human and divine. Hence comes the domestic Triad as religious, made up of Father, Mother, Child, all of them deities, from whom in one way or other proceeds the world. Polytheistic Religions show various

forms of this domestic Triad, of which the most striking is the Egyptian, composed of Osiris, Isis and Horus, whose grand battle is with the Destroyer, who is thus outside of this Triad.

(3) The third great Triad in the Evolution of Religions is that of the Restorer, the Christian Trinity, consisting of Father, Son and Spirit. Here the Son is not only divine, but also human, and through the Spirit takes up humanity into his return to God, or in the divine process of restoration.

Such, very briefly indicated are the three divine Triads which have manifested themselves in the Evolution of the Religious Institution, and which exist explicitly in the Christian Religion as the complete fulfillment of all Religion. But we must never forget that the Christian Trinity, since its first announcement, has also had a marvelous development both inside and outside the Church, of which fact we have already spoken sufficiently.

The Evolution of the triune Process through the ages is toward actualizing itself in an Institution whose end is freedom in its highest form

III. We have now reached the Universal Religious Institution, which, like all Institutions, has as its supreme object to cherish and to secure Free-Will. It is itself Free-Will actualized, existent, whose content is to will Free-Will. But it does this in its own distinctive manner.



Primarily it is a Religious Institution, whose first word must be, "*Thy Will* be done." Or we may cite the highest example in another expression: "I come to do *thy Will*." And again with special emphasis: "Not everyone that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth *the Will* of my Father which is in Heaven." Thus is the stress placed upon willing the Will of God as the primal religious act, or perchance attitude.

But the further question rises: What is the Will of God? This in most minds demands some special content, but the content of God's Will is universal, is Free-Will. The next problem is, How is man to know or to find God's Will? Not only in himself but also in the Religious Institution, which must be ultimately the Universal Religious Institution, and this is what makes a free man religious and a religious man free. Of such an Institution there will be the following elements in reciprocal union.

(1) The free God—the universal Self or Person who knows himself as Free-Will actualizing Free-Will in the world. God can only be free in His Institution, through which He brings Free-Will to man. A capricious God is not the highest form of divine freedom, just as little is the capricious man a free man. In the Universal Religious Institution God is free for the first time, that is, institutionally free.

(2.) The free Man — psychically, morally, and institutionally free the Man becomes only as a member of the Universal Religious Institution, through which the free God wills and actualizes the Free-Will of Man.

(3.) The free World — the Universal Religious Institution whose ruler is the God of Freedom or the free God, will make the World free. The absolute Person or the All-Will does not work individually, and hence capriciously, but through His Institution which is for all. The highest point of his creativity is to be the creator of freedom, in the Man and in the World and in his own Self; the divine Self-creation means ultimately the creation of freedom in God, Man, and the World (as Institution)

Thus faintly but not fantastically we may forecast the outlines of the result of the omnireligious Process in its Evolution of the Universal Religious Institution.

Herewith our study of the Evolution of the Religious Institution is brought to a conclusion, having gone through its triple process of one, many, and all religions. We have noticed a steady ascending movement, not leaving out the fact that much still remains to be done. On the whole the Religious Institution of the present is not in one of its great constructive periods, but rather the opposite. Over the entire world it shows more disintegration than integration—a

condition, as we believe, preparatory to a world-religious Institution.

We have seen Evolution in every Institution both secular and religious. It shows the negative elements which have to be overcome in all progress. But it also shows how Institutions are subject to a reversionary movement, how they often drop back to former stages already transcended. Particularly Religion has such a tendency. Hundreds and hundreds of popular preachers and teachers are starting every day the new Religion, which is invariably found to be some earlier form which the civilized portion of the world has outgrown. Doctrines are promulgated, even calling themselves Christian, which seek to undermine the whole institutional world and to make man return to his original savage condition, in a state of sexual promiscuity.

Thus Religion turns completely self-destructive, becoming the supporter and propagator of original sin, which is its first article of faith. For original sin is the reversion from the higher to the lower social order, is a going back to a pre-existent lower condition of the race. Religion is to rouse within you the sense of this sin and its danger, to buoy you up to the high-water mark of your age's civilization, above all to keep you from reversion, which is the deepest denial of God's Will as actualized in the world. This is

the real Fall of Man, occurring every day, and even preached as a doctrine of Religion.

We may well contemplate the Evolution of the Religious Institution as a new means of salvation. We study now all contemporaneous Religions on the globe, savage and civilized. Then we study their successive stages in time, and find both kinds of study complementary of each other. These details of savage life and of folk-lore help us see ourselves, and help us see the institutional order in which we live, opening our eyes to the fact that there is always a reversion going on in society, a streaming backwards of certain classes of men through all preceding grades to the very beginning in savagery. To stem such reversion at its fountain-head is getting to be the prime duty of the Religious Institution.

*SECTION THIRD.— THE EDUCATIVE  
INSTITUTION.*

Thus we shall designate the third great Institution or series of Institutions, intending by calling it *educative* to give it a wide sweep—much wider than what is usually included under the term *educational*. The School of Life is hardly deemed an educational Institution, yet the very essence of it is that it is educative.

In general the object of the Educative Institution is the reproduction of the Institutional Person. That is, the reproduction of the World of Institutions in all Egos, young and old; every individual, of every grade and age, is, through Education, to be trained into an institutional consciousness internally, and into an institutional life externally.

Such is the ultimate end of the Educative Institution, but, as we shall see, it has other very important ends, which, however, become at last means for that one supreme end, whose essence is Institutional Freedom.

So the Educative Institution is just that Institution whose supreme object and content is to re-create Institutions in every human soul and to give them a continuous new birth therein. The whole institutional world both secular and religious (which we have just considered) is to be re-born in each child and in each man, through Education and its special Institution, whose treatment lies before us.

The highest organized consciousness of the race, its civilization, expresses itself in these Institutions. Through them the child and the man live the life of humanity; indeed only through them can the human being share in the spiritual movement of his species.

Still we have all to be trained into this participation, and to be kept continually in training, through the Educative Institution. Thus the human being, however young, however old, must always be in the process of Education as his deepest need, as his spirit's strongest support; he cannot do without, indeed he cannot get outside of the Educative Institution in its complete periphery.

The Educative Institution in its primal origin

undoubtedly goes back to the Family, which is indeed the fountain of all Institutions. We have already seen that the end of the Family is the reproduction of the Person, giving him first of all an institutional birth, then physical care and nurture along with domestic training. As far as it can, the Family seeks to reproduce in the child the Institutional Person, but finds therein its own limits, and hence calls for, or rather calls forth, a new Institution dedicated to this very purpose, namely the School in some form.

In early ages the Family was all Institutions—domestic, social, religious, political. Then, too, the human being was educated by and in the Family, as far as his education at that stage went. In addition he could gather up the treasures of experience from the lips of the old men of his community, or perchance of his people, as does Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. But with the differentiation of Institutions into Family, Society, State, Church, the School too made its appearance as a distinct Institution, whose function is essentially to prepare the young for their coming institutional life.

The Family naturally would reproduce only itself in the child, namely domestic life. Such was its limit: it could not adequately reproduce the total institutional world, which was the spiritual heritage of the child. Through the Family the human being becomes a domestic Person,

but he must also be a citizen, a member of society, in general a complete well-rounded Institutional Person. So there rises an Institution which returns to the Family, takes the child, removes it from the domestic circle (this separation from mother and father must take place), and inducts it into a new institutional world which trains it into the complete possession of its spiritual patrimony.

In this sense the Educative Institution is a going back to the Family, yet a going forward out of it; also going back to the secular and religious Institutions, and a recreation of them in every born soul, whereby all Institutions are not only preserved but kept eternally active, yea are developed into newer and higher phases of themselves, by means of the limit-transcending nature of the human Ego.

Like all Institutions, the present one is Will actualized, existent, and at work in the world; it is, in the first place, an actual object, whose essence is Free Will, being administered by a Free Will which wills Free Will; that is, its end is freedom as institutional. Such is the common element to all Institutions; but, in the second place, the special function of the Educative Institution is to train the Ego to freedom; it wills Free Will indeed, but in its own distinctive way, namely, by reproducing it in a human soul, which thereby is first made truly actual, being brought



itself to will Free Will as actualized in Institutions. Thus the Educative Institution wills Free Will by calling forth and developing the same in the Ego, which in its turn re-creates and vitalizes Free Will in the whole institutional world. Hence we have to penetrate psychologically the Educative Institution in its fundamental process.

“ A free man, in a free world, among free-men ” — so we may state in a general way the end of Institutions, through which not one or some or many but all can be free. And the Educative Institution is to unfold all into this freedom. Every child is born into Institutions, he has inherited them as possibilities from his ancestors. Thus he has them potentially at birth, education is to make them actual. The child at his highest is the possibility of the whole institutional world, of all civilization, out of which potential condition he is to be unfolded just by an Institution, the Educative, into an actual Person.

Returning to the specially psychological aspect of the present sphere, we can see that it is the third stage of the total Institutional Psychosis, which signifies, in general, the return to and the reproduction of what has gone before (here the secular and religious Institutions). For this is the Institution which goes back and reproduces and keeps alive and actual all the other Institu-

tions of man, internalizing them in every born Ego, establishing within the human being the outer established world, eternally rebuilding it in every soul.

The Educative Institution is, on the whole, secular, yet not in the sense of the Secular Institution as such, which we have already set forth as composed of Family, Society, State. The Secular Institution actualizes the individual Will in some form of Desire, as previously declared (see p. 46, 47); but whence comes this Secular Institution which thus seems taken for granted not only as existent, but as the working principle in human consciousness? Just this is the supreme object of the Educative Institution, which reaches back to the Secular Institution and reproduces it in every born Ego, or is to do so. In a former statement of this book (p. 53), the reproduction of the Person is affirmed to be the common end of the Secular Institutions — Family, Society, State; but the reproduction of these Secular Institutions in each self must also be brought about, which is the function of the Educative Institution. The Institution may secure Free-Will, yet such Institution itself must be secured. This is done by the new Institution, the Educative one, which recreates from generation to generation the institutional world in the human Ego. In ordinary secular life the individual wills the Institution, but just this act of will-

ing the Institution must be trained into him, or rather evolved out of him by Education, which is itself an Institution for that very purpose.

Thus the Secular Institution with which we started is itself produced through an Institution, and we have completed the institutional cycle. For instance, civilized man satisfies his wants not immediately but through the Social Order; but he has to be trained into willing this Social Order as the means for satisfying his wants. Still more profoundly he has to be trained into willing the Law of the State in order that it may secure his freedom. All this is performed by the Educative Institution when it does its duty.

But this Educative Institution—how does it get to be? There is no doubt that it has been directly evolved out of the Religious Institution, though it has its roots far back in the Family. The Religious Institution has always had some form of training into the God-consciousness for its laity and especially for its priesthood, both of which are to will God's Will through the Religious Institution. But man is also to obey the Law of the Secular Institution, to will its Will, and into this consciousness he must likewise be schooled. Thus the distinction between *secular* and *religious* passes into the School, and produces two kinds—which distinction is strongly at work to-day. The Public School has been secularized, which suggests that it was previously religious, or under

religious surveillance. After no small struggle has this taken place, whereby the Educative Institution has achieved independence, and become an Institution co-ordinate with the other two.

This independence, however, does not mean that it is to be indifferent to the Religious Institution. On the contrary, the Educative Institution, when it has attained the performance of its whole duty, is to reproduce the Religious Institution also in every born soul, and not alone the secular Institution. How this is to be done, is distinctly one of the educational problems of the future; that it is to be done, there can be no doubt. In the struggle for independence, the Educative Institution very naturally went a little too far in setting aside the Religious Institution from public instruction; but there must be a reconciliation and a restoration, of course in the right way; each needs the other, each is incomplete without the other.

The Educative Institution has not reached its fulfillment till it embraces in its scope the whole institutional world, both secular and religious, re-creating and keeping alive the same in every individual, young and old. As already said, it is the third and final stage of the total institutional Psychosis, completing the triune process eternally creative of all Institutions. These three stages must be conceived not simply in their apartness but also in their unity, which is their

perpetual movement corresponding to that of the Ego itself in creating them.

Next we are to consider the Educative Institution as having a process within itself, which shows the primal fact of its organization. A threefold movement we shall see, whose separate stages we can look at as three different Schools, yet interrelated and forming the total Educative Institution.

I. *The Public School*, which takes the child, or the human Ego as potential, instinctive, undeveloped, with the institutional world implicit in it, which is through education to be made explicit and consciously active. Such a School, however, will be limited by its community, and so is a communal School through which all are to pass, receiving thereby a general training needful for their communal life.

II. *The Special School*, which gives special training to the individual both in the matter of culture and of vocation. It breaks up and divides the previous common education\* into particular directions, according to personal preference and talent.

III. *The Universal School*, which is again a common School, but not the first one, being the School of Life which all must enter and be disciplined under a new teacher, who goes by various names, such as Spirit of the Age, Providence, the World-Spirit, Civilization. This School

takes the adult, having perchance graduated from both the Public and the Special Schools, and puts him under a universal training through the universal schoolmaster, who reproduces in him creatively the institutional world by actual experience as well as by mirroring it in Art, Literature, Science, and Philosophy. This is, then, the absolute or universal Educative Institution, which calls forth the other preceding Schools, and for whose end they exist.

The Public or Communal School develops in the human being the Community Life; the Special School develops in the human being his own individual selfhood in talent and vocation; the Universal School (or Institute) develops in the human being the total institutional world. The movement is that each Ego must first be a member of his own Community, and then through his own self-unfolding he must rise into becoming a member of all Communities in their universal process, which means that he is to be a participator in the World's Civilization. He must not only know what his race has done and is doing as a whole, but must make himself a factor in its total movement.

To express the institutional world we may sometimes use the word *Civilization*, though the term is hardly adequate. It is a Roman thought and is derived from Roman law; Civilization makes man *civilis*, hence a *civis* or citizen, a

member of the State which gives civil rights under the civil law, all of which pertain to the Secular Institution. But the purport of the Educative Institution is broader, it has also to reproduce in the human soul the Religious Institution, which was just the element lacking in the later Roman world when it went to pieces and was succeeded by organized Christendom with its Church, though the latter preserved Roman Law and Civilization.

This last School is named universal, as it embraces all men, and trains each man to universality, and is itself the School of the World in its process of actualizing freedom. It is the Institution created for reproducing in the soul the creation of Institutions, when the man has become the creator of Institutions in his daily life. Thus it trains him not merely to know the institutional world, but to be creating it evermore through living it creatively.

*CHAPTER FIRST. — THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.*

This is often called the Common School, being common to all as an Educative Institution, teaching the common branches, common to the community and necessary for social intercommunication. It takes the undeveloped self of the child and unfolds it out of the Family into the Community, the School being itself a Community, a kind of reproduction and re-enactment of the latter's life, whereby the immature but impressionable mind is brought to re-create this early stage of the institutional world.

The Community is the primordial unit or cell out of which Society is evolved. In some form it is compelled to have a School for the purpose of reproducing itself in the new-born person, who must in the course of time be its supporter. The



primitive Village Community had some such training, though chiefly through myth and folk-lore transmitted by tradition. At present the Public or Communal School has to develop this social germ inherited by every infant. This School is, accordingly, the first stage of the Educative Institution which has to preserve the whole institutional world by recreating it in every new generation and thus propagating it in each oncoming Free-Will of the Community.

The Educative Institution is not directly to embody freedom, or to reproduce it completely, but is to reproduce the Institutions which reproduce freedom, making it actual in the world. So there is always an element of authority in the School, which has, however, freedom as its end, training the untrained mind in obedience to Law, whereby the human being becomes free. The School must always be governed, but it must always be moving toward self-government.

Very briefly we shall have to deal at present with the Public School, which has already become one of the most important Institutions. Merely a slight sketch of its idea or conception can be here given, this conception being the germinal process underlying not only the Public School, but all the Schools of the Educative Institution—being in fact the inner movement of Education itself.

Education may be taken as somewhat different

from the Educative Institution, just as Religion is different from the Religious Institution. The one is the idea, the other is the actuality of the idea. Education is made actual in its Institution, is organized, endowed with a body as it were, and given to the people. Through the Educative Institution, Education, which otherwise is simply an idea and subjective, belonging to the few or even to the one, is imparted to all. Hence it is often said that Education, or rather its embodiment in the Public School, is the saving principle of popular government, which depends upon the intelligence of the people.

We may here consider the three fundamental stages of Education, which are constituents of its complete process, or of its Conception.

(1) Education is Information. Such is the most immediate, manifest, and indeed general object of Education: to get knowledge. The learner, be he child or man, in the Public School or in the School of Life, is to take up and assimilate certain facts, more or less useful, which constitute a body of instruction or of information. This is the pursuit of knowledge, which is native to the aspiring human spirit. Education must, primarily, impart knowledge, which opens the world of culture to the growing Ego.

At the same time the acquisition of knowledge can become one-sided. It can be so emphasized, by drill and otherwise, that it stunts or stops de-

velopment. Thus Information contradicts its own name and nature: it no longer informs but deforms the mind. It is well known that some of the narrowest souls in the Republic of Letters have been men of the greatest erudition. Hence comes the loud call for an Education which does not simply pour in from the outside, but unfolds from the inside outwards. That is, along with the training of the Intellect or receptive principle of spirit, we must have a training of the Will or the active principle thereof. Such is the demand which is chiefly heard in these days in opposition to the so-called old method of learning—a demand which in its present form goes back to the last century, but which has its fountain-head in the old Greek world.

(2) Education is Development. So we make a new start, on the inside, so to say, from the Ego itself, which is now to be unfolded and made real; the true Self, hitherto overwhelmed by acquisition from the outside, asserts its right and takes the initiative. The word *Education* is cited as having just this meaning, which is that of leading out and of developing.

With the rise of Education as Development comes the need of method, or at least of a decided change of method. The branches of Information must be taken not so much for the sake of Information as of Cultivation; moreover they must be taught or presented in such a way

and in such an order as to call forth with the least outlay of time and energy the latent powers of the Ego, transforming all its potentialities into a complete well-rounded, actual person. The organization of the Educative Institution becomes the great object, and with this rises the conception of the Normal School, which is to train the trainer. Thus the Educative Institution also develops and completes itself in its various organic members.

But this stage of Education likewise reveals its decided limitation. We have indeed attained the culture of the individual, which, however, becomes individualistic. Self-activity is the grand doctrine, but this activity of the Self ends or may end in selfishness. We have let loose the Ego and bid it speed forth in all directions untrammelled, and thereby unfold its freedom; the result is it has unfolded its freedom into caprice, perchance into license, or is in danger of so doing.

Education is, therefore, beginning to place limits upon those favorite categories: self-activity, self-culture, self-development. It goes so far as to emphasize control, authority, even restraint and suppression, but the latter would signify the extreme of reaction. There is no doubt, however, that the individualistic Education of the time must be transformed, without throwing away the thought of inner development, and of true

freedom. How can the work be done? At this point we pass to the third stage of Education which seems in the present epoch to be dawning.

(3) Education is institutional. The profoundest element of Education is just this, its determining ethical end; all its other elements become at last means for this supreme end. Education must now realize itself in an Institution whose chief object is to train to an institutional life. So we come to the Educative Institution, which is to impart Information, to give Development, and supremely to recreate in thought and conduct Institutions.

Through the School as an Educative Institution the child acquires the institutional habit, which is, in general, to will Free-Will. As a member of the organization he is ruled by law, as if he belonged to the State. For every free act of his he must will the free action of the whole School. He learns that he cannot be truly free all by himself, and this is his best lesson. Every act must be universal, must be what all can do, or what is lawful. Even if he speaks, it must be through the will of the whole embodied in the authority of the teacher and of the School. Otherwise his speaking may assail the Institution, and thereby violate the Free-Will of all.

In complete Education, then, these three ends are present: (1) knowledge, the appropriation of what is different or unknown, the outer world

assimilated by the Ego; (2) the separation of the Ego within, and the unfolding and expressing of itself through Will, the making of the potential Ego real in a complete self-active center, the whole being the sphere of individual freedom; (3) the return to the outer world, which is not now that of mere knowledge, or the information about things more or less external, but the world of Institutions, existent and objective on the one hand, yet in and through the Ego on the other.

It is manifest that we behold in these three stages of Education not only so many separate isolated phases, but an inner connection which unites them in a process, yea, just the fundamental psychological process, the Psychosis. They all belong together, no Educative Institution can do without them all, and all at once. It is true that sometimes the stress is put on one and sometimes on the other, still all are present. But the deepest principle of the three, as well as the supreme end of Education is the third. Yet we must not forget that it could not be and act without the other two.

It is, therefore, a mistake to denounce the acquisition of knowledge as one purpose of the School. It could not exist without such an end, and knowledge has a right to be loved for its own sake. Certainly every aspiring pupil will take delight in learning on its own account. It means mastery of the external limit in some form.

and triumph of the spirit — a justifiable joy if there be any, since such a mastery is prophetic of freedom, which prophecy is fulfilled by the Institutional World.

Here we may note the fact that these three stages of the educational process are also stages of its history. Leaving out the ancient and medieval period for the present, we find that the Renaissance put stress upon Learning, Information, Expression, in its strong yet one-sided attempt to recover and reproduce antiquity. This was the need of the age and its educators responded, but the time came when the right of inner Development was demanded by the chafing human Ego, which, accordingly, asserted the full, free unfolding of the Individual. Montaigne started the cry, which was taken up by Rousseau and made to re-echo through Europe; Pestalozzi and Froebel realized the thought in educational Institutions. At present we are turning to the Institution itself and looking into that; we are beginning to find that in it lies the deeper fact of the whole movement.

So much upon the Conception of the School, in which we shall always find the three stages which we may name the informational, the developmental, and the institutional — none ever absent and each in a process with the rest, yet the latter largely implicit hitherto in educational history. All three belong really to the general

Educative Institution — the Institution which trains people small and great, young and old, into the Institutional World.

The School, then, in its Conception or creative Thought, must be informational, developmental and institutional, all three as distinct and yet in a process together, which is the veritable soul of the School, its creative Psychosis.

It is the third stage — the institutional — which is to become explicit in the American School System, as this must give the training to freedom, that is, institutional freedom. The Prussian School System is probably the best in the world for the first two stages — the informational and the developmental — but in the third it must be completely transformed to suit this country. We may well learn from Germany in regard to methods of imparting knowledge and of training the individual mind; but the German institutional world, and specially the State, is so different from the American that there must be a corresponding transformation of the School, which is ultimately to re-produce just the Nation's Institutions in the mind of the pupil.



*CHAPTER SECOND. — THE SPECIAL  
SCHOOL.*

Under this head is embraced a great variety of schools which come after the Public School and give some form of special training for life. It is the sphere of diversity, of particularity in which the individual largely chooses on what line he will develop himself, and for what vocation he will prepare himself. The Public School in a certain degree gives the knowledge and discipline which are common to all specialties, hence it is often called the Common School. In it the field of selection for the student is not large, though the choice of studies may well begin in the High School. But in the Special School, the general or common character of the Public School shoots off into many particular direc-

tions, according to individual preference and talent.

As we have already noted, the Public or Common School is a Community School, and its chief end is to make every child a member of the Social Whole, furnishing to it both the means and the training to participate in the institutional life of the Community. Such Education is for all and must be given to all, hence it is paid for out of the public purse. The student in the Public School is *generally* educated; but if he is ambitious, he will wish to be *specialy* educated, also. But he will have to pay for this special education out of his own pocket, with a few exceptions.

The Special School, accordingly, has many forms, it shows great diversity within its sphere, but it also causes a great separation in the life of the pupil; usually he separates from the Home and Community in which he was born and raised, and enters a wholly new social environment. That is, his immediate relation to his Home and Community, that of birth and nurture and early schooling, is broken; a new element enters his existence, he goes through a process, inner and outer, which he has never known before. It is a separation or estrangement from his implicit institutional life hitherto, in order that he may in the end become conscious of what has brought him into existence, reared him, educated him, and possibly sent him away, quite as the mother has to wean her child.

In the Special School the pupil has in a way to care for his own household, he forms new associations, and has a new outlook. Moreover he enters a new Institution and has to adjust himself to a different order from that at home.

Great is the multiplicity of these Special Schools, shooting up and ramifying society in all directions. The question rises: Can we put them into some kind of a system, so that they may be surveyed and be seen to be a part of the Educative Institution in its completeness, whereof we are now treating?

In the first place, there is a group of Special Schools which continue the work begun in the Public School, specializing it into details; then there is the group which may be called professional or vocational Schools; finally these may be united in one great School which thus becomes the University. A few words upon each of these groups.

I. The first group embraces a variety of Schools under the names of Academies, Institutes, and particularly Colleges. These Schools have in one way or other a connection with the branches which have been begun in the Public School. Yet they add or claim to add special elements of their own, in the way of method, thoroughness and new branches. More particularly, religion is the chief motive for founding the private School and the College. Every de-

nomination seeks to have its own educational means for establishing and perpetuating itself and so introduces into the Educative Institution all the divisions of sectarianism. Hitherto the College has supplied the higher education of the United States, and it is more of a native product than any other kind of American School. Its influence is not likely to pass away, in spite of the recent progress of the University.

Of course there is a great difference among Colleges. The religious bias is apt to cover a multitude of educational sins in the minds of the patrons. Its very limitation, however, gives certain advantages. There is no question that the College has been a great means of spreading advanced education throughout the land.

II. The professional or vocational School is a form of the Special School which has risen into new prominence in recent years. Every calling requires a special training; and callings are becoming more and more diversified and exacting in modern society, so that the Schools for them are increasing both in number and kind. In the vocational School the individual prepares himself to give in the most effective manner his contribution to the Social Whole, which is, of course, to return to him the value of his service.

These Schools are by nature separative, and often spring up on the spot where they are most

needed. But many of them are so dependent on general studies, particularly in the case of sciences, that they cluster around the educational institution where such studies are taught.

Hence comes the tendency of the vocational Schools, at least those of the higher class, to concentrate in one locality, where they can help one another and get help of a higher kind than if they were isolated.

III. Thus the University is formed, which, as its name indicates, proposes to embrace all Schools—a special School which is to include substantially all special schools. Hence the modern University shows a tendency to devote itself to specialization, and becomes the home of specialists in the various sciences. At the same time it does not neglect the element of universal culture.

The idea of the University is ancient, apparently going back to Athens and Alexandria in antiquity. Next it rose and flourished in medieval Italy, which has been succeeded in modern times by Germany. The German University is now being copied the world over, particularly in America. It produces specialists mainly, which fact is both its strength and its weakness. We are often rightly warned against premature generalization, but there is an equal danger in premature specialization. An element of separation and exclusiveness lies in the nature of such work, which may

beget not the happiest mental traits or the best character. The University is a kind of aristocracy of learning which but few comparatively can enter.

The University has its own life, which is not that of the people or of the nation. It is an institution within itself, having its own society and government. This estrangement of the pupil from his regular institutional life has unquestionably its discipline, but it also has its dangers. The graduate feels the breach between himself and the world which he has to enter after leaving the University; this breach should not be made too great, else he may never be fully able to harmonize himself with the life of the Social Whole, having become so deeply absorbed in one little part of it in his formative period.

In its instruction the University largely deals with the past, and seeks to reproduce the movement of former periods of culture in the mind of the student, who thus possesses the historic conditions of his own culture as well as that of his time. In this training also there is a great and important element of self-estrangement; the young man is turned away from the immediate present, and is made to live in the past, till he returns to the present with the movement of the race. On leaving the University he has attained his institutional majority, whatever be the exact number of his years. He has passed through

the Public and the Special School with their distinct social training and has entered real society or the institutional world to which he as citizen and workman of some kind is to contribute his part in order to receive his reward.

Still he soon finds himself again in training, he is not out of school by any means; in his town or village, however small or remote, there is a branch of the training-school of the world in which he soon discovers himself to be a pupil, usually a green pupil, with many things to learn in their rudiments. In time he will be aware that this is a new University more universal than the University so named which he formerly attended. The Special University as the School of Vocations shows itself to his mind now in decided contrast to the Absolute University as the School of Life. The University of Civilization dawns upon him, truly universal, having its teachers also, who are, however, not chosen by some Board of Directors or by some President of a School, but selected by the thing to be done, which means that they are self-chosen in the highest sense.

Thus we have made the transition to the Universal Educative Institution, which is not and cannot be the University so called, as the latter is a part of the former's process. The grand whole of the Educative Institution now appears, and shows its inherent nature which is creativity, since it has to reveal and to reproduce in perpet-

ually new forms the growth and movement of the institutional world. This is to be brought home in its very genesis now going on, to the human consciousness, chiefly through Art and Literature.

But Art and Literature as creative have seldom had their abode at the University, which, however, has had much to say of their past, and of their formal characteristics. But the Literary Bibles of the world are not the products of the University proper, but of the Universal Educative Institution in which they are the lasting text-books, though the University does much to preserve them and to keep them alive in the consciousness of the passing generations. Criticism is found at the University, not much creation; it gives past processes in Literature, Art, Science and Philosophy, which indeed condition the present, but are not the present.

But the Universal Educative Institution shows the processes at work now; creativity is its word, and it seeks to express the new conception which the Spirit of the Age is realizing. Doubtless the people as a whole feel the first pulsations of the new idea soon to be born, but they cannot utter it except in a fitful manner. Some individual first expresses what lies brooding in all; this expression brings them to a consciousness of themselves and thus educates them in a new school by a new training with a new schoolmaster. All this we shall next consider.



*CHAPTER THIRD. — THE UNIVERSAL  
SCHOOL.*

It is not easy to find a suitable term for the present chapter, which takes a wide sweep over a large domain embracing many different spiritual activities. We wish to keep before the reader that this is still an Institution, and an Educative Institution, amid all its divisions and diversities; it is a form of actualized Will whose purpose is to reproduce Free-Will in the soul of all, especially of the grown man pursuing his vocation.

In the heading above we call it the Universal School in order to suggest in the name its correlation with the other two Schools, Public and Special. Still its purport is wider than the ordinary School, and we shall often call it the Univer-

sal Educational Institution, or, for short, the Universal Institute, quite distinct from the University proper which has been considered in the previous chapter. Still we may sometimes designate it as the University of Civilization, to which all men belong and through which all have to pass in one way or other; thus it is truly universal, the School of Life, the World's Institute.

In a way it is a return to the Common or Public School, through which all ought to pass in order to possess the primary implements of Civilization. It is the final or absolute School for which the previous Schools have been a preparation, into which they move and out of which they are called forth. It is their creative source, their determining principle, and also their ultimate end. It is an Institution, but an Institution which is likewise to reveal man to himself as the moulder and the moulded of Institutions.

The School of the World, then, we have before us; but who is the teacher? Ultimately the World-Spirit, the absolute Ego who is at the center of Civilization and is unfolding it into a colossal image of himself. Undoubtedly there are many other teachers, every grade in fact; but the World-Spirit is the chief pedagogue in the World-School.

Moreover he has been at work from the beginning. Secretly he had a hand in the Public School and organized it for his own behoof,

training the youth of the land for his purpose, which is indeed their own highest purpose. Also he was at work in the University, preparing its inmates specially for the task of his School, which is verily the sum total of all Schools, and in which he is finally to reveal himself, and teach himself what he is.

Still this Institution, though the end of all other Institutions, is itself also a means for their end which is freedom, and this freedom thereby can only be institutional freedom. Thus they all come back to the individual and elevate him into the universal life, while he on the other hand must incessantly reproduce them, both knowing and willing them. The Institutions of Civilization mean the Institute of Civilization, the universal training-school of humanity unto the one great end, freedom as institutional.

We have called this the Universal Educative Institution, because it is all three—universal, educative, and institutional. It is universal: all must enter it, the training is universal, the teacher is the universal teacher, and the man is to become universal, is to lead the universal life. It is educative: it is the School whose end is that of all schooling, and which embraces a vast constituency of Egos receiving their discipline; it is the totality of the race being trained for the race's end. It is institutional: it is the actualized Will of man willing Free Will; it is an ex-

istent Institution whose object is to reproduce the institutional world in every human being both through Will and Intellect, through the experience of the Deed and through the instruction of the Word. To this Institution, therefore, belong Art, Literature, Science, Philosophy.

The Universal Educative Institution is thus the true University of Man, whose very purpose is to reveal and to teach the Universal Creative Ego eternally creating the world, especially the world of Institutions into whose processes it unfolds itself and thereby reveals itself. In this School of Life you may take the lesson immediately and learn it through yourself, transforming all experience, sad and joyful, all suffering and all happiness into a means for your own enfranchisement. Likewise the events going on in the world you are to see leading the race along the path of freedom, in spite of all backstrokes of destiny.

Still interpretation is needed, the World-Spirit uttering itself at first in the events of the time must have a new utterance in Art, Literature, Science. Hence the new teacher appears, the interpreter of the World-Spirit as artist, poet, thinker; this new teacher is the creative genius who belongs peculiarly to the Universal Educative Institution, is in fact its leading Professor, usually a very different man from that other Professor in the University proper.

In the School of Life we may start with the instruction which comes from the Deed, that is, from our individual Self originating actions, which flow out from the Ego as a center and pass into the world of occurrences. Every person is such a center of concentric waves of influence moving outwards. But also they come back to him from other sources and determine him. Still the main fact is that his own Deed comes back to him in its consequences, having passed through the institutional world in some of its forms, which return to him his conduct as that of a free-acting individual. Thus every man is cited before a court, a World-tribunal, which metes out to him the counterpart of his Self in reward and penalty. Our World-School has not abolished punishment, not even corporeal punishment, in its administration. Through the pains and penalties flowing from the Deed the individual learns the Law, yea learns the Divine Order, in which he lives and moves and has his being. So much instruction he may acquire directly through his own action.

But, in order that man may get the experience of man, a record must be kept of the most significant deeds and events, which show forth the decree of the World-Spirit or the divinely creative Ego. This record is properly the work of the genius making his poem, picture, statue, or speaking his thought as one with that of the Supreme

Thinker. We may call him the recording angel of the court of last resort, who records the decision of this final tribunal, and imparts it to man, that the latter may know the Judgment and the Law of the highest Justiciary.

This record in its various forms — Poetry, Art, Philosophy, etc.— is the fundamental branch in the Universal Institute, which must also have its text-books of instruction. Now the best text-books in the School of Civilization have always been and still are the Bibles of the race which are studied in the great Institute of Humanity for the purpose of revealing to man the Divine Order and the workings of the Divine Ego. They are to call forth in him the consciousness of the Universal Creative Spirit or Ego, and thus are religious in the profoundest sense. Still we shall find these Bibles dividing themselves into two kinds, religious and literary or secular. This distinction, however, we shall elaborate later; at present we put stress on the fact that both kinds develop in man the God-consciousness, and so reproduce in him the religious Institution.

The individual educator, while educating the youth in his little school, is often being educated by this supreme Power in His Great School. Pestalozzi at Yverdon was working away in his small Institute for boys, but he was at the same time under training by the World-Spirit in whose

Universal Institute he was chief instructor for the people in all countries and all ages. The same is true of Froebel when he started his little kindergarten for the little child at Blankenburg; he was really an original teacher, not in a German University, but in the far greater University of Civilization.

Thus we seek to catch some outline or suggestion of that School over all Schools with its supreme Schoolmaster, from whom proceeds the New Idea which is to be imparted to all mankind.

*Further Reflections and Illustrations.* We shall try to expand and to enforce the preceding thought even at the risk of some repetition. The Ego as Institution-maker is now making an Institution whose object is to reveal and thereby to reproduce Institutions in the mind of the recipient, showing them in their origin, conflicts and meaning. Such is our Universal Institute, training man to know himself as the ever-active reproducer and supporter of the institutional world, whose final stage we have here reached, since it turns back upon itself and looks at itself, in the very process of creation, of course through an Institution created for that purpose.

The present stage is the completion and fulfillment of both secularity and religiosity, as well as of the Educative Institution. In a sense it is

connected with the Church universal, also with the State universal, yet both are now to be united in the truly Universal Institution, which is likewise a school, the great training-school of humanity, whose final teacher is the World-Spirit incarnating himself in the Artist, Poet, Thinker, through whom he is to obtain expression.

Looking back at the religious sphere, we observe that the grand dualism of existence is overcome through Christianity — overcome for us of the Occident at least; yet this is a religious overcoming, hence accomplished through the renunciation of the individual, through death and tragedy. So the Great Exemplar, the divine-human Person renounces and perishes as an individual; he is tragic in his conflict with the world, though internally, in the spirit, he triumphs. Still the world must now be so transformed that the divine-human principle will not bring death but life, will not perish, but be saved. Accordingly, on this side as on others, there is a call for a new Institution which secures to man his complete selfhood.

This new world is to be institutional; it will be the product of the Will whose content, end, and purpose is to actualize the Will, yet in a new way. The Ego as Will is to actualize itself in an Institution which is to show just this actualization; it is an Institution, therefore, which reveals the



Ego as Will to itself actualizing itself in an Institution. Spirit is now to reflect itself in an institutional world as Institution-maker. This reflection of itself in such a world will give Art, Poetry, Science, which we shall later find to be the leading elements of the Universal Institute.

The two worlds, the secular and the religious, hitherto unfolded in distinction, are then to be united in a new sphere, in which both are to be mirrored. The individual is to see himself in his movement through both; he is to become conscious of himself in his institutional process. It is no longer merely the Ego as Will actualizing itself in these two kinds of Institutions, secular and religious, but the self-conscious Ego actualizing itself in a new Institution, whose very object is to reveal self-consciousness in its creative institutional activity. Spirit thus beholds itself in its supreme manifestation; the Ego contemplates itself in its highest truth, sees itself in its loftiest act of creativity, being the contemplator thereof, the contemplated, and their unity. The intellect, this contemplative element, becomes one with the movement of Will, whose present function is to call forth and organize the new institutional world just for the purpose of self-contemplation and self-revelation. Thus the Ego is to view and to know itself as self-active in the highest form of its self-activity, it beholds itself making Institutions, its supreme creative act.

We may notice again, passingly, that the secular and religious realms have two eternal forms of self-reflection in what are called the Bibles of Mankind, which are divided accordingly into two great classes, the secular and the religious Bibles, or the literary and the sacred Great Books of the world. Both kinds belong to and are phases of the Universal Institute, whose function is in the present case to reveal the individual to himself in his final highest fulfillment; both, too, utter at last the same fundamental truth of man to man.

The need of such an Institution is felt from the limitations which manifest themselves in both the secular and religious spheres as heretofore unfolded. Each of these is a sphere calling forth the active powers of man; each produces and cultivates a certain kind of Will, one the self-asserting, the other the self-renunciatory, both being worthy and necessary. The training of both is essentially a will-training, which calls for the Deed. But man is not only a doer, but also a knower, yea, a self-knower, to which fact of his nature there must be an Institution corresponding.

This is our present sphere, which will show the Ego not only as institutional but beholding itself as institutional, seeking to see itself in all its social, political, domestic, and religious conflicts and triumphs. Art, Literature, Science Phi-

losophy are primarily for the purpose of making the Ego self-seeing; thus the Ego creates a world in which to mirror itself back to itself; this world we shall find to be an institutional world, in which the Ego embodies itself both as self-active and self-contemplative, as both Will and Intellect.

In an ancient Greek drama of great power and beauty, the king, Creon, as the head of the State, commands the dead body of the traitor Polynices, who was slain fighting against his country, to be cast forth without the rite of burial, to the beasts and birds of prey. But Antigone, the sister of Polynices, refuses to obey what she deems an unhallowed command; she follows the instinct of the Family, of sisterhood, and buries her brother, defying the ruler of the State and his authority. Manifestly we have here an institutional conflict between the supporters respectively of the Family and the State. Thus before the Athenian public, the poet Sophocles presented the colliding forces which form the action of his drama; in essence it portrays the conflict between two secular Institutions, which conflict is thereby brought home to the consciousness of the people who listen. Into the same drama the religious element enters, though perhaps not so prominently; Antigone appeals to the subterranean deities of instinct, of feeling, of domestic affection, while Creon main-

tains the Gods of the Upperworld, specially of the State.

Plainly this drama belongs to what we have called the Universal Educative Institution whose function is to reflect the life of man in its secular and religious phases, and thereby to lift him up toward institutional freedom. Such is, indeed, the essence of Literature in its highest worth; it brings out, in the collision of characters who are its representatives, the nature and the limits of all Institutions, in the present case Family and State, which lie very near to every human soul. And also the Greek religion, the world of the Gods, who have their domestic and political relationships, are not left out. Ultimately every great drama, and every great dramatic movement which springs from the heart of the ages, every great dramatist who lives and is worthy of life, notably Shakespeare, will be seen to rest upon this institutional foundation, and to unfold in his characters the collisions of Institutions.

The Ego must, by the very necessity of its nature, bring to consciousness its institutional realm, both secular and religious, in which it has its spiritual being; the Ego must know itself in its highest activity, for its inherent nature is to be self-knowing and self-determining, both of which characteristics enter into the Universal Institute. Not only self-active must the Ego be, but knowing and showing itself as self-active,

revealing itself by creating for this purpose a new world, also institutional, which, being the unity of the Will and Intellect, of the active and the speculative principles in man, we have named the Universal Institute, with the suggestion, also, of its educative purpose.

We may approach this thought through another illustration. When the Greeks narrated the mythus of Hercules, they told how he drained swamps, slew serpents, destroyed wild beasts and birds, conquered and killed savagemen and monsters. Emphatically is he the institutional hero of Greece, preparing the way for the civilized life of man in Family and State, and rendering possible all culture. What did the Greeks not see reflected back to themselves in his story? By means of it they became aware of the labors through which they had to pass in order to attain their institutional existence; such a content in their mythus they must feel and behold in order to develop it and themselves to maturity.

Herein we may note that Mythology is one form or stage of the self-reflection of the Ego, and belongs to our Universal Institute, which is a world called forth by the Ego to mirror itself as institutional. To be sure, this mythical stage has its own period and its own place in the order of the present sphere. The Mythus is the people's primordial attempt at self-revelation; they make it, this first picture of themselves, more or

less rude, yet it is the rough material which is to be transfigured into the greatest poetry of the race.

A different illustration may be drawn from another source. Raphael's Sistine Madonna is a painting of the Mother and Child; this Child is "the son of God," and the bringer of a new religious life to man. Both are gazing at something not painted on the canvas, something not visible, possibly not formable, hence not to be painted. Gazing at the Invisible, we may suppose, "seeing God;" wherein Art points significantly to that which is beyond Art. In such a picture the Ego has the supreme religious act, the vision of the Unseen, brought to consciousness by a simple look. The beholder beholds the Mother and Child beholding, and gets an intimation of what they behold in their countenances and attitudes; thus the Ego participates in the Divine through the work of Art.

Painting, then, is a phase or part of the Universal Institute, since in the present case it reflects back into the soul of the spectator an element of the religious Institutional World. All Art, we shall find, belongs to the same sphere, since it is a self-reflection of the Ego in some of its social or institutional activities, with an ultimate educative end. We can also take an illustration from written History. That of Herodotus, for example, may be regarded as a

vast reflector which, being held up before the Greek race, helped them mightily to come to a consciousness of what they were, and of what they were capable of doing, casting upon the future a colossal image of their destiny, and, in fact, of the destiny of Europe and the Occident. The deed of Marathon showed the Athenians what they could do, but the historical account of Marathon and also of Salamis, as given by the historian, made them conscious of their worth and perpetuated their heroic action through all time. Moreover this Athenian spirit, aware of itself and determined to see itself to the full, began to reproduce itself in architecture, sculpture, painting, poetry, history, science, philosophy — all of them forms called forth by the Ego seeking a complete utterance and reflection of itself. Thus the Athenian people had not only their secular and religious Institutions, and defended the same in action, but they also created their Universal Institution profoundly educative for themselves and for all time the most wonderful product of their civilization, verily their greatest Deed, greater even than Marathon and Salamis.

In such fashion the Ego, as self-knowing and self-determined, completes itself, or, using the term employed for this purpose, makes itself universal in an Institution. It creates a new institutional life or sphere whose function is to

reveal the Ego to itself as institutional. Again we may note that Intellect and Will unite in one supreme process; the Will actualizes itself in an institutional form whose purpose and content are to reveal the Self as institutional and as the maker of Institutions. Many are the kinds of this self-revelation, quite as many as there are diversified activities of the Ego, which are, therefore, to be ordered by its fundamental form of activity, the Psychosis.

Already it has been observed that the educative Institution is the third stage of the entire sweep of the institutional Psychosis, the other two stages being the secular and the religious. It is, therefore, essentially a return; the individual Ego comes back to itself completely through a new institutional world which it must not only produce or recreate, but must also think or contemplate. The Ego as Will, as often noted, has a fundamental scission within itself, must separate itself internally and then externalize itself. In the two previous institutional spheres, the secular and the religious, there was an actualization of the Will as Will, but now in this third stage of the Educative Institution, the Ego as Will actualizes itself for the purpose of knowing itself as this process of self-actualization. Thus the Ego becomes conscious of itself as institutional, wherein lies its return, its movement out of the separation of the Will



into the unity of the Intellect, into the beholding and recognizing itself as this institutional process.

Thus rises on our vision the realm of Art in the widest sense of the term; the Universal Educative Institution is truly the Art-World. The individual Ego as artist creates a product whose content is the revelation of the Universal Will as creative, or the Divine Ego as supreme Maker or as the absolute Artist. But this work of Art, be it a statue or picture, or poem, a symphony or a philosophy, exists not for its own sake or for mere beauty's sake; it has its end in the people who through it are brought to behold and to participate in the creative activity of the Divine Self, whereby they become truly Godlike. This Art-World is, therefore, educative, and exists ultimately for the Education of Mankind toward its goal, namely, freedom. Moreover, this freedom can be made actual only through an Institution; accordingly the Art-World in its highest manifestation is institutional, indeed doubly so, since it is an Institution whose object is to be forever keeping alive and re-creating Institutions in the human Ego, which thereby itself becomes creative of Institutions.

*The Three Egos.* The reader may have noticed in the preceding exposition that three Egos have been implied, all in a process with one another. There is the humanly creative Ego, as genius or artist, creating his work; then there is

the divinely creative Ego, with His work, which is not simply to be copied or imitated, but is to be re-created, along with its Creator creating it; thirdly, there is the recipient Ego, who is to see and think the work of the genius or artist, and thereby be made to share in the divinely creative spirit of the universe just through this work. Such is the function of Art in the present broad sense; thus it is truly educative, training the human race into its heritage of Institutions. So it comes that the man of genius is the new Teacher, teaching in the World-School, not hired by but commanded by his Master, the World-Spirit, to perform just this task, usually without salary, and often at the cost of life.

These three Egos we may consider somewhat more closely, first in distinction from one another, and then in their relation and interaction.

1. At the start we shall turn our look toward the maker of this new world, the genius or creative Ego, who as Artist, Poet, Thinker, calls it out of the void into being. His is the original energy, the Conception as generative; he projects himself into the object, transforms it with his Idea, therein manifesting both his Will and his Intellect, creating his work through insight as well as action. For he must see something, the mere inner vision of which he feels necessitated to throw out of himself into an external shape. What does he see and thus project?

Not some caprice of his own, not simply a reflection of his individual Self; his work must mirror and bring to manifestation the Self as universal, we may call it the divine Self in its act of calling forth some phase of the Universal Institute, and therein revealing itself to man. Let this creative Ego be Homer with his battle of the Gods; what lies imaged therein? The conflict between the Greek and Trojan institutional worlds, even the grand struggle of the ages, that between Orient and Occident; and every old Greek hearer of the poem felt that struggle surging through his soul, though the modern reader may deem it merely some mythological fancy-work gotten up for amusement. Or let it be the thought of the Eads bridge spanning the Mississippi; there is first the individual Ego as builder, creator; but he must think the thought of the divine Ego as manifested in Nature and her laws, reproducing them and applying them in his structure. That is, he must realize Science, and Science, as we shall see, is a phase or branch of the Universal Institute.

In the next place this creative Ego, as genius or maker, has various activities; it must separate itself into the psychical elements of Intellect. It will, therefore, manifest itself as Sense-perception, Representation and Thought, all of which become specially productive, bringing forth an objective world which we shall now consider.

2. We have thus reached that which the creative Ego as genius has projected out of itself as its product or creation—work of art, poem, embodied idea, It has undoubtedly the stamp of the genius of the individual Ego which conceived and brought it forth to daylight; but it also bears in itself the reflection or the suggestion of another Self, the universal one, whose semblance must be felt or witnessed in the particular work or deed portrayed. Frequently we call this higher universal Self by the name of World-Spirit, which seems at certain periods to seize upon the individual, and compel him to the utterance of itself, who thereby becomes the genius, as poet, seer, artist, thinker, maker, whose function it is to call into being the uttered, that the Ego may behold itself in the same, and thus be made aware of itself in its supreme manifestation. Such a work is not only a product of the Will, but is an actualization of the Will, hence bears in itself an institutional principle, whose object is to reflect just this actualization of the Will. The entire present realm of creative works we have already designated as the Universal Educative Institution, looking at it on the institutional side, which is now our point of view; but it may likewise be called the Art-world in the broadest meaning of the term.

This Art-world is therefore the product of an Ego, and reveals the spiritual semblance of an

Ego; consequently it will divide itself according to the psychical process of the Ego into three grand divisions of Arts—the Presentative, the Representative, and the Noetic—which correspond to and are based on the three stages of mind previously designated, namely, Sense-perception, Representation, and Thought (*Nous*).

Such, then, is the general organization of this objective realm of the spirit's products; the Ego calls it forth and organizes it, hence it bears in itself the very impress of the movement of the Ego, the Psychosis.

But, having gotten the Art-world of works projected into externality, we may now turn away from the creator and the created, from the genius and his product, to those who are to take it up into their souls, and for whom the work has been done.

3. Here we come to the recipient Ego and its activity, to the spectator, hearer, reader; to the people in whose spirit this objective world of products is to plant its meaning and to bring home to their particular selves consciousness of their universal Selfhood. All the before-mentioned Arts—Presentative, Representative, Noetic—are the creations of the individual Ego (as genius), embodying in some form the universal Ego (as Spirit of the Age, or as World-Spirit, or also as the Divine Spirit), which is thus imparted to the recipient Ego, which Ego thereby partici-

pates in and gets conscious of its greater and higher Self. Here lies the grand end of this stage of the Educative Institution: the Ego seeing, knowing, contemplating, sharing in and living in the divine and universal principle of itself, which it attains unto chiefly through what we have above called the Art-world, or the Universal Institute in its total circuit. Hence this Institution is educative in the supreme sense.

The recipient Ego has, however, three ways or methods of beholding and communing with the divine or universal principle of itself which has been just mentioned. The first way is the immediate one, by direct vision or intuition, and by the spontaneous feeling of communion and oneness. The second way is that of mediation, and is the road which the vast majority of mortals have to travel, and which leads through the Art-world in its three forms — Presentative, Representative, and Noetic. Then there is the third way, the most perfect yet probably the most difficult, which has been usually named Philosophy. That is, the Ego as Thinker not only creates Philosophy (or Science) of itself, which is the Noetic Art in general, but turns it back upon the preceding stages and gives their Philosophy, which is their creative Thought. Thus we have a Philosophy (or Science) of the Presentative Arts, usually called Aesthetics; also a Philosophy (or Science) of the Representative

Arts—Poetics; finally a Philosophy of the Noetic Arts, or the Science of Sciences (called by the schoolmen *scientia scientiarum*), which has been claimed to be absolute Science, knowing itself and knowing all other knowledge through knowing itself. This last domain often goes by the name of Metaphysics, which, with Aesthetics and Poetics, embraces the three Philosophies of the three kinds of Art. But this part of the subject will be developed later on.

In the three phases of activity just set forth, we may designate more strictly the Psychosis: first is the individual Ego as creative, the genius or genetic energy; second is the object created, separated from the creating Ego and projected into the world, which, however, reflects not only the Self as individual, but as universal, divine, wherein lies the twofoldness of the work; third is the recipient Ego returning to and uniting with the creative Ego in its creation, and thereby communing not only with it but also with the universal Ego, which is the objective, world-creating principle embodied in the work.

Thus we begin to catch the outlines of what is here called the Universal Institute, which is always reproducing itself and yet always advancing beyond its old limits, through making man conscious of its movement. It reflects him not only in his secular and religious spheres, but reflects him reflecting himself therein; he is

limit-transcending, knows himself to be such, and the Institution which reflects him truly must show the same character. Hence the Universal Educative Institution is always in the process of going forward in order to come to itself, self-transcending yet just therein self-realizing, reaching fulfillment by forever taking the next step.

It will be observed that this entire sphere we call Art, or the Art-world, giving to the term a wider range than its ordinary sense of Fine Arts, which are embraced in the first division below (the Presentative Arts). For the Ego now produces a work which embodies in some form the divinely creative principle; this work we call in its widest acceptance a work of Art. All Art, moreover, teaches, and is not merely something to be taught; educative it is, and belongs to the Educative Institution. Then the content of Art is ultimately divine, imparting the knowledge of God; Art's function is to lead the world-consciousness to the God-consciousness, filling and transfiguring the human with the divine. Herein we may see its relation to the religious Institution.

The principle of ordering these Arts will be the movement of the Intellect in creating them on the one hand and in appropriating them on the other. Accordingly we shall behold the Psychosis of the Intellect organizing the present sphere as follows:—

I. *The Presentative Arts*; these are the Sense-



Arts, in which the creative Ego as artist projects into the forms of Sense-perception the universal spiritual content of itself, which is the divinely creative Ego; and this spiritual content is in turn taken up and appropriated by the recipient Ego through its Sense-perception (Painting, for instance, through Sight, and Music through Hearing).

Then the Ego as Thinker, seizing in Thought and ordering through the same the universal content of the Presentative Arts, produces a science of them — Aesthetics.

In the Presentative Arts Nature is immediately given as divinely created, and then is wrought over by the artistic Ego into material forms which reveal the divinely active Ego in its creative supremacy.

II. *Representative Arts*; these are the Image-Arts, in which the creative Ego as artist (or poet) projects into the forms of Representation, that is, into images, the universal spiritual content of itself which is the divinely creative Ego; and this spiritual content is in turn taken up and appropriated by the recipient Ego through its Representation, or image-making power, which utters itself in the Word (Poetry, Belles-Lettres)

Then the Ego as Thinker, seizing in Thought, and ordering through the same this universal content of the Representative Arts produces a science of them — Poetics.

In the Representative Arts it is the copy of Nature taken by the Ego (the image) and uttered in the Word, which is seized upon and wrought over by the poetic Ego for the purpose of revealing the divinely creative Ego in works of the Imagination. The total Poem, as the Iliad, is at last one huge Image.

III. *Noetic Arts*; these are the Thought-Arts, in which the creative Ego as Thinker projects into the forms of Thought (abstract categories) the universal spiritual content of itself, which is the divinely creative Ego; and this spiritual content is in turn taken up and appropriated by the recipient Ego through its Thinking.

Then the Ego as Thinker seizing in Thought and ordering through the same this universal content of the Noetic Arts produces a science of them — Metaphysics.

In the present field Art and Science fall together. So we place under the Noetic Arts the Sciences of Nature, History, and Philosophy. The humanly creative Ego as Thinker seizes and utters the divinely creative process of the absolute Ego in Nature, in History, and in Thought itself through the pure forms of Thought.

Still these pure forms of Thought or categories, being ordered into a system with its one central principle or Thought, are not final, since they with their system fall into Time, which thus brings forth a series of philosophic systems:

for unifying which a new order must be established.

Such are the three divisions of the Arts which are classed, according to their fundamental characteristic, under the Educative Institution, as their supreme object is educative, namely, a training of the race (the recipient Ego) into a consciousness of its divine principle, which is the absolute Free-Will which wills Free-Will. Hence the education given by Art is ultimately the education of man into freedom.

Moreover it will be noticed that the ground of the division of these Arts into Presentative, Representative and Noetic is found in the Ego, which as genius or genetic creates, and as recipient appropriates, these Arts. Hence they conform directly to the movement of the Psychology of the Intellect whose divisions are Sense-perception, Representation, and Thought. (See our *Psychology and Psychosis*, p. 54, 426, et passim.)

Still further, they are a production of the Will with a divine or absolute content, and so we call them Arts, being herein different from other productions of the Will with a merely human content, which is usually some finite means for some finite end.

Next we shall proceed to give a few details about these three stages of the Art-world, which follow the psychical order of the Ego in dealing with Percept, Image, Thought. At the same

time it must not be forgotten that this Art-world being supremely educative, is the Universal Educative Institution, which last word adds the fact that it is likewise institutional. Anything like a full development of this Institution cannot be here attempted; our reader must for the present do without any unfolding of the negative and evolutionary stages of this sphere, though we shall seek to give the main connecting lines of the positive principle of the Art-world.

### I. THE PRESENTATIVE ARTS.

This designation has been chosen inasmuch as the created object is immediately present to the senses of the observer on the one hand, while, on the other, the artist sees the Divine Ego in the same immediate form, and proceeds to embody it for the senses of the observer, projecting it out of himself into reality. The present sphere of the Art-world or of the Universal Institute occupies, accordingly, the field of what is known in psychology as Sense-perception, in which the external object is taken up and appropriated by the Ego through the senses.

In a simple sensation already there is a theistic element, when we reach down into the depths of it. I can see yonder tree only by reproducing it through an act of my creative Ego, which is truly the image and counterpart of the

universal creative Ego. "We see all things in God," said Malebranche, giving utterance to the divine side of a simple act of vision. But my Ego does not in sensation alone make the divinely creative element explicit; this is just the function of Art and of the artist; he is to transform the object of sensation that it suggest to the Ego of the hearer or beholder the divinely creative Ego in its process. He takes the external sensuous thing, say, a piece of marble, digging it out of its dark abode in the mountain, where the creative power of Nature put it; then he proceeds to make over that piece of marble in a new creation, whose supreme function is to reflect and to bring to the consciousness of the beholder just that original creative power of the world in some of its manifestations. When you merely see the block of stone, it has no explicit suggestion of its own generative principle; but in a temple or in a statue it is endowed with a new capacity; it speaks to the beholder, to the recipient Ego, of the Ego as creative, as world-maker, and calls the former to witness a divine epiphany in some visible outward shape. So the object is beautiful in the worthiest sense, manifesting a supreme spiritual harmony of man with the divine, and calling forth the highest act of the beholder in viewing the divinely creative act.

We may, therefore, say that it is the destiny of every object of Sense-perception to be made

over, to be re-created by Art, to the end that it manifest directly the semblance of the Divine Ego which originally created that object. This is more particularly the field of the so-called Fine Arts, here designated as Presentative Arts in accordance with their psychological characteristic. The artist, by the immediate fiat of his genius projects into some responsive sensuous material the Great Ego, and thus is calling forth the Art-world or some phase thereof.

In the realm of sensation we have the activities of the five senses, whose function is to take up and internalize the external object. But not all of these five senses are suitable for Art, at least not all of them are equally suitable. The sense of Touch is too special in its working; it particularizes very nicely and in great detail, but it or the mind after it has little power of synthesis; hence we can hardly reach the totality of an artistic product, and still less the Beautiful thereof, through palpation. Taste and Smell are often called the chemical senses, and imply the object not in its totality but in its dissolution. Cookery and perfumery have been claimed to be Fine Arts, occupying a pretty little corner somewhere; but we cannot look into that corner now, however appetizing and fragrant. Sight and Hearing are the Art-senses, at least the most perfect ones, and to them we shall confine ourselves, since through

them we are able to get the reflection of the Ego as universal. Sight can receive a totality in Space through its medium of light; Hearing can receive a totality in Time through its medium of sound. In Art the sensuous material must be filled with the spirit, the real must be infused with the ideal; both elements, the real and the ideal, must be transmitted to the senses which can take up both, through their media, light and sound, which again have something responsively ideal even in their physical properties. Such, then, are the two Art-senses, through which mainly the sense-world of Nature is to be transformed into the sense-world of Art, and thus become a phase or a division of the Universal Institute.

In the realm of the Fine Arts, here called Presentative, we shall observe a movement, a Psychosis, inasmuch as they show the Ego working itself out to completeness in the sphere of sensation. The transformation of the sense-world of Nature into the sense-world of Art is accomplished by the creative Ego of the artist for the recipient Ego of the people in order to reveal the universal, divinely creative Ego as the principle or spirit generating the institutional world. The three stages of this process of transformation we shall designate briefly in advance.

I. *Somatic Arts*, which are sometimes called Arts of Form, show the immediate transforma-

tion of the sensuous object into the artistic object. Usually the physical organism is seized by the plastic artist and remoulded for the expression of the spirit. Though the form be transformed, it still remains in immediate unity with its meaning.

II. *Architecture*; the artistic Ego now separates the spirit from the form and builds the latter, transforms it into an inclosure for spirit and reflecting spirit. Architecture, therefore, has in it the separative principle, being in its highest manifestation the house of the universal Ego, of the world-creative power, whose dwelling place must suggest its presence.

III. *Music*; the fixed space-world passes into a time-world, which has sound as its content, whose musical character is a continuous going forth, yet is also a continuous self-return. The architectural forms which seem crystallized, and remain in a state of separation, start to moving in music and complete themselves in its process. The musical artist takes as his material not merely sound but self-returning sound which is the elemental principle of harmony, and employs it to give utterance to the Divine Ego.

The division into inner and outer is implicit in the Somatic Arts, whose Spirit is immediately manifested in the Body; but in Architecture the distinction into inner and outer becomes explicit, and even visible when the material form itself



separates into the inner and outer (the statue and temple); while in Music there is a continual movement of the material (sound-waves) to the inner, to the Self which is stirred to its inner elemental activity through the outer tone. Thus we have in the Presentative Arts the three stages of the Psychosis.

We have, accordingly, to start with the Somatic Arts as being the first and most immediate forms of artistic Presentation. They take up and make over the whole realm of external Nature, but they necessarily will seek a selection of those objects which are most suitable and lie nearest at hand for the purpose of Self-expression. Living organisms are better in this regard than inorganic things, while the best of all is the human body. Hence the Somatic Arts concentrate about the human body, endeavoring through it to give some utterance or adumbration of the divinely creative Ego.

The grounds for thus selecting the highest visible object to express the invisible are manifest. The human organism is not only the home but the organ of the spirit, that through which it acts and therein utters itself. Moreover it is the outer sensible manifestation of the Ego itself, of the Psychosis, whose process it suggests in an immediate visible form. Look at it; first, it is one, in simple direct unity with itself, bounded in Space and Time, being itself and nothing else.

Look at it again; it is, in the second place, divided within itself, it is composed of two symmetrical halves, not mere repetitions of each other, but mutually related and complementary. The third glance will reveal the fact that these two halves not only make one external whole, but constitute one process together, which process is called life, and is the inner ideal principle of the total organism.

Thus it is that the Human Body, even in its physical aspect, is not only the home and the organ of the spirit, but is the closest, most cognate and exalted natural symbol of the Ego itself in its own inner process. Let us note again that two-sidedness of the body, called by physiologists its bi-lateral symmetry; draw the median line from your forehead, down your nose and throat, along your chest; do you not see that your framework is two in order to be one and a process? Such is the outer appearance of yourself, that is, of your very Self; it is the image of your Ego made external, made by Nature into an object of sense; truly do you name it the Body of your Ego, the actual incarnation of your Selfhood.

Still, the Human Body is to be reproduced and made over out of Nature into Art. Though, even physically, it be a marvelous picture of the Ego, it is that of the particular, finite, sense-involved Ego. Hence the genius as artist will

transform the Body, recreating it in a sensuous material, which thereby becomes a new and pure image of the universal Ego, of the divinely creative Self.

I. THE SOMATIC ARTS. We here employ a term which signifies literally the Arts of the Body (*soma* in Greek), or of the immediate material form, which is to present the artistic content to vision. The outer and the inner are here undividedly one in the sensuous object; later in Architecture we shall see the separation of these two elements.

The Somatic Arts are in three divisions, which constitute a process among themselves. First are the *Plastic Arts* represented by Sculpture, which reproduce the material form in its three dimensions—length, breadth and thickness—or as it is immediately given by nature. Second are the *Graphic Arts*, represented by Painting and Drawing, which reproduce the material form through the abstract magnitudes—surface, line and point—which are abstractions from the concrete fullness of Nature. Third are the *Kinetic Arts*, in which the material form moves from within, and thus is endued with life, through which movements the living Body produces animated pictures which can have the content of Art. This stage is represented in many gradations, from the simple gesture to the complicated figures of the dance and ballet.

Thus we put together the Plastic, Graphic and Kinetic Arts in one psychological movement, which starts with the material form in the immediate concrete fullness of nature, as in the statue, and then passes to the abstract (abstracted, separated, and hence the second stage) magnitudes which reproduce the concrete object in the picture, and finally returns (in the Kinetic Arts) to the concrete fullness of nature in the living Body, which, however, now moves in Time and brings forth the artistic product. The common element in these Arts is the immediate material form, as solid, as pictured, and as moving from within, which form is ultimately taken for the purpose of reproducing the divinely creative Self to human vision.

Under the present head, then, we shall first consider the Plastic Arts as represented by Sculpture, the general character of which will be next indicated.

1. *Sculpture.* This is the first of the Presentative Arts, reproducing wholly or partially the material body in all its spatial fullness, having the three dimensions, length, breadth, and thickness. Chiefly, however, the Human Organism is taken by the creative Ego of the sculptor, and employed in its objective completeness in order to represent the God and the Godlike. Such is the Conception of the artist, which is his genetic principle; he must behold the genetic

principle of the world and reproduce that by his creative fiat in his material — stone, metal, clay, wood. Still the work must bear the special mark of his Ego, the impress of his individuality, which is also creative just in this act of re-creating in image the divinely creative Ego, this indeed being the primordial act of Conception. By this Conception each particular detail is vivified as it goes over into reality, taking on artistic form, every part of which is to suggest the generating Idea.

Most famous among the statues of Greece was that of Zeus, the supreme Hellenic God, set up in his temple at Olympia. It was the work of Phidias, who is said to have received the approval of Zeus himself by a flash of lightning, when the statue was dedicated. Plotinus, the philosopher, declared that the artist in spirit beheld how the God would be fashioned, if he should reveal himself to us face to face. But what is it that is thus revealed through a statue, an object of sense? It is matter, but not literally so; it is matter re-formed, re-created as it were, endowed with a spirit. Zeus was the ruling deity, the God of the State, in whom reposed the world's authority; he manifested the universal Will which was to subordinate the capricious individual Greek Will. He was, accordingly, the creative and sustaining power behind all Institutions of the Hellenic race, secular and religious; the

old Greek beheld him in the statue, worshiped him, communed with him, and drew from such communion the very blood of his institutional life. The Zeus of Phidias was not the copy of some man, though the shape was human; the statue was not a portrait after some model, though the finite form was present and visible. What was it, then, that looked out of that plastic figure? Something which made it truly a work of art, and the greatest of its kind. Such is the inborn bent, the genius of the artist; he seizes his material and creates therein the visage of the divinely creative power, which act is his own genetic Conception. He must possess skillful technique, yet also a gift far higher; skillful technique will produce only the accurate likeness of some individual.

The physical material is, therefore, given to the sculptor, who is to work in it as his own native element and to transform it into a new kind of existence. Also the bodily organism is given to him by external Nature, which, on the one hand, he is to imitate in its particular feature, yet on the other hand, he is to fill with a universal meaning. Still further, he receives a most important gift from his people, from his age, or perchance from his race; it is his theme, the content of his work, which is or was once transmitted to him mainly in a mythical form. The true Mythos is the product, not of the individual,

but of the national, possibly of the racial, consciousness. The artist receives it and moulds it afresh; he has, or did have in old Greece, a mythical material as well as a physical; the story of the Gods he is to transmute into stone, and thus reveal them to the people in some divine act. Still the artist must be free to work out his Conception even in this legendary material coming down from antiquity; his creative Ego also must manifest itself in creating worthily the shapes of the Gods. Indeed his genius appears just at the point where it touches the deity, who is likewise a creative Ego. If the traditional overbears the artist's freedom of Conception, just the original element will drop out of the artistic product, which will then become fixed, conventional, unfree, clogged in its own material. Such was the case in ancient Egypt.

The statue of the God is not a portrait, though it be strongly individualized; but the very strength of individuality is manifested by the fact that the individual is now the bearer of the Divine. Far greater than any mortal is such a work; the true individual of sculpture is universal, a divinity. The veritable image of the God seeks not the favor, not the look of the spectator; toward the infinite and eternal is directed the glance, hence its serenity, its impassiveness, yea, its indefiniteness; it has an outer, but no inner eye, with color, keenness,

individuality. The statue is often said to leave us cold; it lacks sympathy, nay, humanity; it is just a little too divine for us, who want the divine-human in the God. Undoubtedly such statements touch the limitations of sculpture as an Art, and hint the need of another and deeper Art which is soon to follow.

Still sculpture has its place in history and gives its discipline to the race. In lofty serenity the God of sculpture disdains to assume an ingratiating, flattering, or even condescending look to the beholder, manifestly he seeks not the spectator's pleasure or entertainment.

Mortal man, gazing on the statue with adoration, has to elevate himself out of his petty finite individuality and to commune with the universal divinely creative Ego, of which the work of Art is the revelation.

The Greek world was the sculpturesque world. The Hellenic view of the Universe was plastic; otherwise it would not have embodied the Gods, the creative principle of all things, in the marble shapes of sculpture. Even the great individuals of Greek poetry and of Greek life have this plastic character; we think of Prometheus as a gigantic statue endowed with speech and motion, and the maker of him, the poet Æschylus, leaves on the mind of the reader the same lofty statuesque impression. Pericles the statesman, Thucydides the historian, Plato



the philosopher, show a similar character, and, above all, Phidias, the maker of the forms of the Gods, is like one of his own plastic shapes in his divinely creative act. Marathon was a sculpturesque battle producing the Parthenon and its indwelling divine Athena as well as hundreds of other statues; the whole Persian War was a kind of Gigantomachia, sculptured in divinely colossal deeds, a war of the Greek Gods against enormous hosts of Barbary. So the Athenians must have conceived it, for they revealed this conception in their temples, statues, monuments, and works of Art after the great event.

The Greek individual, therefore, in his most intense individuality, had to manifest the universal principle of himself; he became truly a man by embodying and supporting his institutional world. The famous story in Herodotus (Book I. 29) concerning the interview between Solon and Croesus brings out strongly the Greek, and specially the Athenian world-view. "Who is the happy man among mortals?" asks Croesus. "Tellus the Athenian," answers Solon. Why? "Because his country was prosperous in his days, and he himself had sons both beautiful and good;" thus he lived harmoniously the life of his State and his Family. Then in a battle near Eleusis, "he came to the assistance of his countrymen, routed the foe, and died upon the field most gloriously." Such a man, filled with the

institutional spirit of his people, is the ideal individual; hence we read that "the Athenians gave him a public funeral and paid him the highest honors." Alongside of this secular institutional life at Athens we read in the same passage the story of the two Argive youths, who manifest their devotion to the religious institutional life of their country, and to their mother who was priestess in the temple of Juno.

The Greek had not fully actualized the institutional Will, making it a complete objective fact in the World. - Thus it comes that the individual as parent, as citizen, as religionist, as Greek and civilized man versus Barbarian and uncivilized man, had to embody in himself the institutions of his people, and make himself personally their representative and upholder. This gives to the old Greek that plastic character of which we have just spoken. The universal, divinely active principle of his race was incarnated in him, in his very body, and made him a living statue, which the artist had merely to turn to stone.

Very different is the situation now. The modern world has actualized institutions far in advance of the old Greek world, but does not produce the ancient plastic character. The great men of Hellas, particularly for our secular institutional life, are still our exemplars; we cite them as types after which we unconsciously pattern ourselves.

We shall pass next to the Graphic Arts, which reproduce the solid material world not in solid forms, but through the surface, line and point, which make the picture. Only about Painting can a few remarks be made in this place.

2. *Painting.* There is always felt to be a very intimate relation between Sculpture and Painting. One is taken to explain the other; to a certain extent they have developed alongside of each other, and to a certain extent one, Sculpture, has developed into the other, Painting. With the famous Greek sculptors co-existed Greek painters equally famous apparently; the two often wrought together in producing a great work of Art, such as the Propylaea, for instance, in which the Architect also took part. Yet there can be hardly a doubt that Greek Painting leaned toward the sculptural in the bloom of Hellenic Art, while Greek sculpture had a tendency to develop more and more into the picturesque. Deeply intergrown are the two Arts in their unfolding through Time; they have been designated not only as sisters, but as male and female, nay, as husband and wife, Sculpture being called masculine, and Painting feminine.

In spite of this unity and interfusion, however, the two Arts are seen to be very distinct, often in striking contrast with each other. Indeed, among the Somatic Arts, Painting shows the inner secession of the Ego, it represents the separative

stage, while Sculpture in comparison has the element of oneness with itself, of an immediate unity between the individual and the universal principle of the Ego. The one shows the sorrow of the soul in its transition to peace, the other has hardly any internal disruption, but manifests in its best period an unquestioning harmony between the sensuous and the spiritual, that Olympian serenity which is the characteristic of the Gods.

Sculpture and Painting, in fact, taken in their highest bloom and perfection, represent two different worlds; the sweep from summit to summit of each Art is the sweep from Heathendom into Christendom. The Greek God descends into the finite, into the human body, becomes an individual, is happy and truly at home in his narrow abode; thus Sculpture represents him as serene, though in its later epoch the scission begins to enter. The Divine in Christian Art is also represented as descending into flesh, which is for a time to be endured, then transcended and crucified, whereby spirit returns to itself out of finitude with untold suffering, and at last finds reconciliation. Such is, in general, the transition from Sculpture to Painting, as it has impressed itself on the ages. All Art has in some way to give the idea of God; the Christian divinity, as portrayed by Painting, is seen enduring the crucifixion of the body, and thereby asserting

the mastery and the independence of the spirit. This process is one of pain and of triumph, wherein the outer shape is shown as sacrificed; this sacrifice of the individual through itself is just the gaining of itself, its restoration after the scission and the sorrow. Painting is supremely the Christian Art, though all the world, ancient and modern, Orient and Occident, has painted and still paints.

The first fact of Painting is that the sensuous completeness of the body, with its three dimensions, is reduced to a mere surface. That is, the outer shape in its material fullness is sacrificed, it is made over into an appearance, a show of the body, whose purpose is to manifest the soul within; the external organism is thus transformed into a ghost, a spirit. Through color this show becomes a marvelous revelation of the inner movements and changes of the soul. Thus Painting puts its stress upon the internal emotional play and interplay within us.

Deep and intense is the separation in the Ego, which it is the prime function of Painting to portray. In fact, there is a triple separation, and all three forms are to be set forth in this sphere. There is, in the first place, the disruption of the immediate unity of the individual with the universal Ego — which unity we beheld in Sculpture. In the second place, the universal, divine Ego, having assumed the body, is separated

from it through crucifixion and death. In the third place the individual Ego shows, and indeed must show the same scission; man falls out with his body, will crucify that too with its appetites and passions. In all these cases there is suffering, physical and mental, but there is also the triumph and the reconciliation which it is the aim of Christian Art to bring to visibility and consciousness.

It may be said, therefore, that Christ had to die before Painting could attain its highest excellence. The spirit had to pass through its deepest negative act in the Passion of the Lord and all the pain thereof, ere the human shape could reveal in color the depths of the internality of the soul. The religious Will, with its self-renunciation, with its "broken and contrite heart" is the source and the content of Painting at its best, which reduces the human organism to a variegated outer play of the inner movements of the Ego, so that Art becomes subtle and suggestive in this sphere beyond any other kind of expression. All the elusive iridescence of the spirit naturally goes over into color as its nearest physical counterpart. The pure sunlight of the Divine Ego, passing through these manifold human shapes with all their manifold emotions, is transmuted into a sympathetic glow of rainbow tints, which of themselves reflect their origin. *Am farbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben*, says

Faust as he rises up from his great sorrow, and beholds the Sun shining through the spray of the cataract and throwing perpetually shifting arches of many-colored radiance over the abyss. Thus the rainbow of nature not only suggests but is generated by the one central luminary, and its tints become of themselves a manifestation and a symbol of the Divine Light.

Thus color is by its very nature the most sympathetic, most responsive material of Painting, and is moreover the separation and particularization of the one white visible sheen of Sculpture, which has the single blank color, as it were, in contrast to the multiplicity of painted colors. Sculpture, if not exactly eyeless, is at least quite lookless, without the sparkle of the ocular hue in its glance, which always reveals the Self within. The God of Sculpture is the Divine Ego as purely substantial, reposing upon its own eternal Self, without the turn to the mortal, finite individual. The God of Sculpture is not directed toward the spectator, is not directly for the recipient Ego, but the recipient Ego is rather for it and is to become through contemplation of it the bearer of the institutional world, of which it is the immanent creative principle. When Sculpture begins to turn to the spectator, and to be pleasing and graceful for his sake, it has passed its culmination and is declining from its divine mission which is to reveal the Gods in their plastic

character. There is no recognition of the Ego on the part of the Gods of Greek Sculpture, their look is turned elsewhere; or, when there begins to be such recognition in them, they are calling for a new art, for Painting, whose function is to recognize and to express the individual finite Ego in all its subjective transformations, through which, however, is to be reflected the divinely creative Spirit.

As spatial bodies are reduced to a surface in Painting, so is Space itself brought to a plane in like manner; that is, a limited portion of Space with its width, depth, and height is made to appear in a picture, which is said to have its foreground and its background, and even its middle ground. This is the function of *linear perspective*, which has a very significant place in the transition from Sculpture to Painting. Then comes in the same connection what is called *aerial perspective*, which pertains to the variations of coloring, as determined by distance, and as seen through the atmosphere. Landscape specially calls into play the element of perspective in both its forms.

Sculpture on the other hand, both in its single figures and in its groups has the tendency to employ immediate Space, not the appearance thereof on a surface. It is so to speak fated, fated by nature, by externality. Hence the Greek Gods have an element of Fate even in their



serenity ; there is an outer necessity hanging over them, which from the first is faintly suggested in their look. Implicit at the beginning, the feeling of Fate gradually becomes explicit in the statue, till in the Niobe group and in the Laocoon, it becomes the all-absorbing fact, and represents the human being or even the God as tragic — tragic through Fate. Thus the Greek world and its beautiful Gods sink down under the stroke of destiny, and with them Sculpture, as the Art of Hellas, passes away, having portrayed its own death blow. Sculpturesque serenity goes over into pain and stoical endurance, but Painting will show the spiritual restoration and the blessedness attained through the fiery ordeal, it will give the conquest of Fate and the movement into Freedom.

But Painting has its external limits in Space and Time, being compressed, as it were, to a spatial and temporal point, and held fast therein forever. Next, we are to take note of an Art which breaks these external chains, but in the same act comes upon new limits peculiar to itself.

3. In the *Kinetic Arts* we pass to the movement of the Body, which is taken to express what it can of the divine movement. And here it may be noted that the dance among many peoples has been a form of worship. Bodily motion, as well as song, picture, statue, has been employed to express religion.

In Sculpture and Painting, the body is fixed in Space and Time; the statue stands still in its place, and the picture holds fast one moment of an action. But now the visible form passes into moving statues or animated pictures, passes from its reproduced fixity into the living activity of the present, and, therefore, can express the continuous movement of a process.

Moreover the material form returns from the abstract magnitudes of Painting to the full dimensions of Sculpture; surface, line, and point go back to length, breadth and thickness; the solid Body is again employed, though moving itself from within and giving a succession of shapes combined into a series of transformations.

There are many phases of the Kinetic Arts, especially are they subsidiary to other Arts. We may mention first the dramatic actor, who is to employ living movement on the stage. Anciently he leaned to the sculpturesque both in form and drapery; in the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles the characters have a plastic simplicity and move in a plastic world. In good modern representations of the classic drama we see the same sculpturesque forms reproduced in their antique movement and environment, for instance in Goethe's Iphigenia. Still, modern acting on the whole has more the tendency to the picturesque, is closer to Painting than to Sculpture.

The language of facial expression and of gesture may be elevated into an Art by the orator, an Art, however, which is still subsidiary. In Naples and in Southern countries generally, the Kinetic Arts in the form of mimicry, gesticulation, and grimace, are an important part of popular expression. Delsarte and others have sought to organize and correlate bodily motions into an Art or perchance a Science.

But the most important and significant of the Kinetic Arts is the dance, which, though often subsidiary, may become an independent Art, and be made to represent spirit, even the divinely creative Self. The sacred dances of peoples are in honor of their Gods, whose doings are therein represented and celebrated. From this high purpose the dance with advancing civilization seems to sink down to a mere amusement, or to an adjunct of some sort. Still amusement can be made artistic; even the popular festival, usually a chaotic mass of moving individuals, can be transformed into a work of Art, as well as into a means of education. As far as our knowledge goes, the most successful and suggestive attempt of this kind was made by Frederick Froebel, founder of the kindergarten, who took a harum-scarum German *Volksfest*, and transformed it into a marvelous means of popular education without taking away the free festal joyousness which belongs to such an occasion. Thus the festival

becomes a part of the great Educative Institution. (See Froebel's own account of the Altenstein Festival in his works, ed. Lange.)

So much for the Somatic Arts in their three divisions, all of which have in common the Body of Nature, supremely the Human Body, as the bearer of the artistic content. But now an explicit, visible separation takes place into the inner and outer, two Bodies or material forms expressive of the divinely creative Ego appear or may appear, of which the second calls forth the following Art.

II. ARCHITECTURE. In this Art there is felt to be a profound dualism or twofoldness; it is an outside covering or dwelling-place of the spirit or the form which is inside; it both excludes and includes; it is determined by something within (spirit, the Divine), yet also by something without (the earth, gravity in the superposition of heavy masses). In the temples of the Gods made by the Greeks, whose Architecture still largely rules the world, this twofoldness was directly present to vision: there was the statue or idol inside, encompassed by the edifice outside which was the sacred House of the Deity. Two material forms we thus behold, both of them manifesting the God, yet in quite opposite ways.

In the Somatic Arts the material form was the *immediate* artistic expression, but in Architecture the material form is a *mediated* one, being

determined by the spirit within as its completely external separated covering or abode, its inorganic Body. Architecture has both an outer and an inner determination, between which it fluctuates, especially in its historic evolution. It is the supported and the supporter both in one, the burden and the burden-bearer; it rises usually in layers like the strata of the Earth, yet is always ordered from within; it is the stratification not of Nature but of Spirit. Great Architecture reveals God as builder, as creator of the universe. The grand religious edifice is constructed by man as architect, yet he reveals in his structure the Divine Architect, the builder of the cosmos. The genius as artist will show in his Art the divinely creative Ego, who must here be suggested as the supreme artificer. The Maker of the world has his own separate peculiar Home in the world, distinct from the vast Body of Nature, an external counterpart of Himself, yet reflecting Himself.

Architecture also produces the Home of man and thus is sprung of the Family, the genetic Institution. The Home of the universal Family with its supreme creative principle finds expression in the religious edifice, and is the primal source of Great Architecture. Not the Religious Institution alone, but also the Secular Institution has expressed itself in great structures, such as Capitols, City-Halls, Court-Houses. Still fur-

ther, the Educative Institution is developing its own Architecture, usually copied, but with many original turns which can be observed in recent School Buildings of various kinds.

Here we can only allude to the Evolution of Architecture, which has shown itself in three grand sweeps which may be named Oriental, European, and Occidental. The latter is at present evolving itself most strongly and originally in America, whose so-called High Building is making an epoch in the architectural movement of the world. This last epoch has only just begun, but it has already wrought the most decisive change in the structural as well as aesthetic canons of this Art.

III. Music. This we place the third of the Presentative Arts, in which the artistic object is presented to the Senses, and through these is taken up and appropriated by the Ego. In Music the Sense of Hearing is the channel between the outer and inner worlds, and we pass from the fixed forms of Space to the moving forms of Time, for such we may call the measured and carefully adjusted tones which are the primary material of Music.

Moreover, if we note this element of Time in Music, we observe that it always comes back to itself in every bar, so that the succession of these bars is a series of small vortices or sound-whorls which spin round and round in going forward like

a pair of waltzers. Time, continuously turning back into itself through sound is the outer elemental principle in Music.

Still further it should be remarked that this line of musical whorls called bars comes back to its starting-point and concludes itself with its fundamental, usually called the key-note. Here we can see that the little cycles of time (bars) move in a large cycle of sound, which large cycle (usually called a strain) is but a part of a still larger cycle in extensive musical compositions such as the sonata and symphony. So we can say that the essential characteristic of Music is this self-returning sound.

It is a curious fact the single tone produces what are called overtones in a series of octaves with intervening chords and notes. The octave is a self-return of the tone after passing through and containing ideally the different notes of the scale lying between. Thus the single tone after going forth in separation from itself, comes back to itself of its own inherent nature. It was Helmholtz who first elaborated fully the subject of overtones, and showed them to be the origin of the scale as well as the genetic source of harmony.

The recurrence of tone, its unceasing going forth out of itself and coming back to itself is the creative fact of Music. Biologically speaking we may say that the embryonic cell out of

which all Music proceeds is a sound or series of sounds which is made to return into itself.

Now comes the fundamental psychical fact of Music: this self-returning sound, stimulating the Ego through the Sense of Hearing, rouses it to its primordial self-activity, to the first *actus purus* of the Ego, which is the primal Psychosis in its pure energy. Music stirs the original Self of man, hence come its power and its delight, since it renews in the Ego the latter's first creative act of selfhood, the soul's first process which is also a self-separation and a self-return, now set a-going and upborne in a continual round-dance of circling sounds.

Such is, in general, the inner character of Music, but now we are to see more distinctly why it is the third stage in the total process of the Sense-Arts (Presentative). Sight, in taking up the outer material object projects it as a fixed Body into the external world. But Hearing internalizes the sound waves coming from the fixed Body which has been assailed and so made to vibrate. In Music the solid cosmos is dissolving into sound and going back to its creative source in the Self. In the Somatic Arts the Ego projects itself into the material form, for example, into the statue; but in Music the statue becomes fluid, as it were, and is borne back to the Ego, its starting-point. From the Self and back to it is the cycle of the Fine Arts. Music is a



perpetual flowing inwards from the outer, while Sculpture, for instance, is a fixing of the inner in the solid outer shape. Architecture is a throwing outward of a second artistic Body in separation from the first and from the immediate Self; but Music is the opposite movement, a carrying back of architectonic sound-masses and building them into an inner temple of the soul.

Primarily Music rouses the simple elemental Ego of the hearer to its original self-creative process, and thus makes it feel at one with the divinely creative Ego, creator of all and of itself too. Hence the deeply religious character of Music in its unperverted primal manifestations, it unites the recipient Ego with God in their fundamental common act of Selfhood, in their first unconscious identity of spirit.

But the musical tone is to have not simply itself as its content, but is to be filled with the image whereby it becomes the word wrapped in a dancing periphery of sound-waves. This brings us to a new group of arts.

## II. REPRESENTATIVE ARTS.

The primal fact of Representation is the Image as that of Presentation is the Percept. This distinction is a fundamental one in Art, springing directly from the psychical process of the Ego in its separative stage.

The Image is primarily derived from the Percept, being separated from it and thereby made explicit. The Image belongs to the inner world of the Ego, though originally taken from the outer world of material forms which are represented, or presented a second time as objects in the present sphere.

It is manifest that the Ego has a control over the Image far more complete than it has over the Percept. It will accordingly proceed to put into the Image a meaning or content derived from itself, whereby the Image becomes Symbol, which brings us distinctly into the realm of Art. The artistic Symbol is thus twofold, having in it a side of Nature and a side of Spirit or Thought. When I employ the image of a lion not merely to represent the natural object of that name, but also to represent sovereignty or strength, I am using a Symbol in one of its simplest forms.

Finally, the Ego seizes upon the sound of the voice, and fills the same with its own meaning and purpose. This is the most plastic material for expression known in Nature. The spoken Word unfolds to view, which, being developed and organized, becomes language. Now the Symbol is a Sign exchangeable between man and man — not merely an outer Sign, but an inner one, the Image itself, which is transferred from brain to brain through the Word spoken, written, printed. Thus we behold an intercommuni-

cation of Images between human souls, which is the basic fact of the Representative Arts.

Very marvelous is the Word, being the condition of all social life among men. I at this point load the sound of my voice with my meaning and send it forth; it sweeps through the intervening distance and reaches you there, in whose brain it unloads its store, and you obtain what I send. I have communicated my thought, my inmost Self to you, and we can co-operate in one great institutional whole. I can represent my Image of some former experience, then I can stimulate you to represent it through the Word, so that you have it too. Thus the most individual thing in existence, the Ego itself, breaks over its barriers and unites with other Egos, and socializes itself by means of language.

It is at this point that we come to see the chief purpose and content of the Representative Arts. They are to reproduce and to keep perpetually active the institutional Self through the Word. As the simple Word in its birth associates men together, so the organized Word will represent and put into large Images the most complex social relations, showing the manifold conflicts and harmonies of the institutional world. Large Images we may call great poems, like the epics of Homer, or the dramas of Shakespeare.

So much for the Image, the Symbol, and the Word, which cannot be here developed further.

The reader who is desirous of seeing a fuller treatment can find it in the text-books on Psychology (the author's view of Representation is given in his *Psychology and the Psychosis*, p. 222; an account of the artistic Symbol is found on p. 297-343; the Word as universal Sign, p. 364-377).

The Representative Arts may include what is usually called Literature, the Arts of the Word. Literature has its implicit stage, when it is hardly more than the germ or cell out of which the many forms of literary composition develop. This primal stage is the Mythus or Folk-lore, which becomes more fully explicit in Belles-Lettres, under which term we place the vast quantity of products written with more or less literary art, belonging to certain ages and nations, and then sinking out of the view of all except scholars and specialists. But finally this multiplicity of literatures unifies itself in the Bibles of the world, which show a permanent element belonging to no other books, being the eternal record of what is eternal. A few observations we shall make upon each of these stages.

I. *Mythology*. In the Representative Arts the first place is to be assigned to the Mythus, as the primal unlettered literature of the folk, embracing the popular tale, legend, song, which exist long before writing. This sphere has recently

received the name *Folk-lore*, the lore or learning of the people, which term indicates its educative character.

The Mythos even of the savage deals with the deepest matters—the God, the Hero, the creation of the world and its government. Primordially it is transmitted by tradition from generation to generation, and is a kind of school, in which young and old receive their training to the institutional order, however primitive this may be. The bard, who recounts the deeds of the aforetime, is really the teacher of his tribe, and must be regarded as a member of the Educative Institution. A collection of Greek folk-tales, united into an organic Whole by a mighty poetic genius, is the *Odyssey*, probably the greatest and most influential educational book of the Occident.

So important are these folk-tales for the education of the child that they have been in recent years assigned a place in the instruction of the School. The teacher, particularly of young children, must still be a sort of bard or skald, with memory full of folk-lore adapted to his or her infant audience.

The Mythos (or Folk-lore) is the natural literature of the race in its infancy. But from this first rude expression there begins soon to unfold the literature of culture, whose supreme function is to reflect the advance in institutions,

or, as we often say, the progress of civilization. When the poet (*poiētēs*, the maker) begins to show a consciousness of his process, and is able to plan and to build a poetic edifice, he has revealed a new stage of Representative Art; he brings before us not one little image of some person or event, but one colossal Image of an action and its hero (like the Iliad). Yet this single panoramic Image is evolved out of the Mythus of previous ages.

II. *Belles-Lettres*. Thus we have to resort to the French for a term needed in English and not unfamiliar to our tongue. The German word *Dichtung* would better serve our purpose, but it is wholly alien. Its nearest English equivalent, *Fiction*, is a subordinate branch of *Belles-Lettres*, which last term may be considered as embracing the literature of culture, though in general all literature, even the rudest, is educative.

Under this head the first great movement is to transfigure the positive Mythus (or Folk-lore) into the artistic poem, which thereby obtains a new and more complete form, with a fresh meaning derived from its institutional environment. Still such a poem is to keep its first spontaneous breath of Nature, which belongs to the immediate utterance of the people. Many recent ballads of civilization, though derived from an old savage song or tale, show in a striking way this transfiguration. Herein Goethe has fur-

nished the best examples in his ballads, which are usually snatches of old folk-songs or tales wrought over into exquisite Art.

The first literature of a people is poetic, though rudely so. But with literary culture comes the separation into poetry and prose, which of course takes place gradually. Social life as it advances, develops the very important side of utility, and at the same time calls forth a literature of utility, which can only be prose. Finally this prosaic Word will multiply itself into infinity (in the newspaper, magazine, etc.), and will overwhelm and discredit poetry and the poetic view of the world. Still the latter will assert itself even in prose, and in the modern novel will conquer a new spiritual domain for itself as the expression and reflection of the institutional world.

In the third place, the diversified poetic and prosaic literary elements of a people and of an age will show a movement of unification which is seen in certain literary wholes, as in national literatures belonging to given peoples (as Greek, Latin, Italian, etc.); also in epochal literatures belonging to given epochs (as the Renaissance, the Romantic Movement, etc.); finally in what has been called world-literature or the universal sweep in all literatures, through the ages, revealing ultimately the one spirit which is that of Institutions.

But even this world-literature, being a contin-

uous stream coming down the ages, and made up of many writings or books of varied excellence, must at a pivotal period in some world-bearing nation, gather itself up in one great book, the concentrated essence of all lesser books, a Book so great that it must be given a new name and considered in a class by itself. Thus world-literature issues in a World-Book, or line of World-Books.

III. *Bibles*. These, as already stated, divide themselves into two kinds, the religious and the secular, or Asiatic and European. In them all we behold some form of the Mythos, or Folklore transfigured into the expression of the highest verities. Thus they go back to the primordial roots of man's utterance of his own and the Divine Self, of his relation to the spiritual or institutional world encompassing him, and securing to him all his worth, inner and outer.

Asia is the creative home of religion and the religious Bibles. The latter are now being translated into English and collected into a huge library called "Sacred Books of the East." For our present purpose we may throw them into two groups. There is, first, the Bibles of Central and Eastern Asia, those of India, Persia, China. These have been formed quite independently of the Occident. But the Bibles of Western Asia, all of them Semitic, have been developed partially or wholly in contact with the West. One of



them, the Christian New Testament, is the adopted religious Bible of Europe.

But Europe has shown its creative power in literature through its secular or literary Bibles. These are the supreme intellectual products of the West-Aryan race, and set forth its institutional world in the highest forms of Representative Art, which culminates just in them. Moreover these World-Books are in their last purpose educative and must be ranged under the Educative Institution, in which they are always to find their place; in fact, they have been the chief educators of humanity, especially in that School which we have called the Universal Institute or the School of Civilization.

Such is the place to which we assign, in the institutional order, the Literary Bibles of the Occident.

I shall not here give any extended account of these Literary Bibles, and of the Representative Arts, since I have treated of them quite fully in another work (*Commentary on the Literary Bibles—Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe*), to which I have devoted many years of the best portion of my life. It will be sufficient here to make this general reference to that work for the reader who wishes to pursue his studies farther along this line.

## III. THE NOETIC ARTS.

It was the old Greek philosopher Anaxagoras who first declared that *Nous* (Mind, Reason, Thought) was the source of all things, the generative principle of the universe. With this word *Nous* so decisively uttered; Philosophy or the thinking science may be said to have made its real beginning. Aristotle, alluding to this epoch-making word of Anaxagoras, declares that the latter appeared by such a statement like a sober man among a lot of drunken men.

Accordingly a derivative from this first Greek word of philosophy may be properly applied to the present sphere in which Thought undertakes to seize and to express Thought in Nature, Man, and Institutions. Hence the name *Noetic*, in contrast to the preceding Presentative and Imaginative Arts.

Thought now, in grasping and uttering the principle of the world, employs its own form, not that of sense or of image, but that of thought. We call it an Art, inasmuch as it has the element of Will, and expresses itself in an external form, which reveals the absolute mind to others, as in the previous Arts.

Yet we have here also mind or thought (*Nous*) present in the utterance, and so the two are put together in the expression: Noetic Arts, which signify, in general, the Thought-Arts.

The Noetic Arts we place in the Universal Educative Institution, to which fact let us give a moment's attention. We shall find these Arts to be *institutional*, to be a phase of actualized Free-Will whose end is Free-Will. Also they are *educative*, seeking to reproduce the world of social Institutions in the human Ego, so that they become the content of its actions. Moreover they belong to the Universal or Absolute Educative Institution, which is the School of Life or the University of Civilization, whose teacher is ultimately the World-Spirit.

The Noetic Arts then — which are Natural Science, History and Philosophy — are a part of the course of training in the Universal Institute already mentioned. They have their text-books, written by their great men, who are the creative spirits of these Arts.

It should be observed that the Noetic Arts have quite as much Science in them as Art, and they may be called Sciences as well as Arts. Their content is Thought which primarily is a form of knowing or of Science. Yet this Thought utters itself in its own form, and so is practical or volitional. The two words Noetic Arts, show both elements, Science and Art, united in one expression. Let the reader, then, not deem it an inconsistency when we place in the present sphere of Art the Sciences of Nature, of History, and of Philosophy, all of which have just the double character alluded to.

Noetic Art is, accordingly, Science expressed in its own form; it is the expression of Thought as the creative principle of all things, and this expression is by Thought and for Thought. The Noetic act of mind is Thought seeing the world created by Thought, and the utterance thereof becomes the Noetic Art.

Here we may note the process of the three Egos, which has been already referred to repeatedly. First is the Ego as creative individual, the genius, the discoverer; in the present field its form is that of Science, the scientific Ego. Secondly this Ego finds and utters the creative Thought in Nature and in Institutions, in the Universe generally; it beholds the divinely creative Ego thinking the Thought of all things; it sees God as scientific. Thirdly, this divinely creative Thought of the world the scientific Ego before mentioned utters in its own form, the scientific; this utterance is for the learner, the recipient Ego, which is also to become scientific, is to have the training and culture of Science, and to share in the scientific view of the world.

Thus the scientific genius has his place along with the artist proper and the poet. Indeed he may also be called an artist, the Noetic artist, whose material is taken not from the world of Sense, or of Imagination, but of Thought, which verily lies behind all and is the absolutely generative principle of all.

Such a scientific genius is a great educator of his race — not the only one, still a very important and necessary one. He belongs to the Universal Educative Institute of Humanity, and labors therein for the grand ultimate end — the making of a free man in a free world. Artist he is from one point of view and Scientist from another; but deepest of all he is a Teacher. Nor must we ever forget in what kind of a School he is employed; he may or may not be an instructor in a little kindergarden of little children or in a great university; it is all the same: his true vocation lies in the School of Civilization, and his ultimate employer is the World-Spirit, who, it is well known, often pays no salary, and even may exact his task with life-blood.

At this point we should take cognizance of the fact that Noetic Art is the third stage in the process of all Art. Spirit, Mind, Ego has the three-fold movement in itself, which is fully described and unfolded in Psychology, called the Psychosis. Thought is the third, its two antecedents being Sense-perception and Representation; each of the three has its corresponding Art or group of Arts. Now Thought is a return to Sense-perception and its world of matter, which world, taken for granted by the Senses, Thought must penetrate till it finds itself as the creative principle thereof, and utters the same in a Noetic Art. Sense-perception at first stimulates the artistic

Ego to re-shape crude matter into a divinely creative form, which still remains material. But Thought stimulates the Noetic, or Scientific Ego to utter the divinely creative Thought of the world, both material and spiritual, in the form of Thought. Thus Thought returns to the world of Sense-perception and makes the latter's maker. Thereby Art becomes Science also, and the Artist is the Thinker.

The Noetic Art (or Arts) will also show the Psychosis, as they must reveal the inner process of Thought itself as universal, or as the absolutely creative Ego.

I. *Natural Science*; the Ego as Will (Art) utters itself in a Thought (Noetic) which reveals and expresses the absolute Ego as the creative energy in Nature, hence as Nature-Spirit.

The Divine Will realizes itself in the phenomena of Nature; scientific or noetic Thought formulates the energy thus realizing itself, in the scientific categories of Cause, Force, Law. A world of Law thus rises out of Natural Science.

II. *Historical Science*; the Ego as Will (Art) utters itself in a Thought (Noetic) which reveals and expresses the Absolute Ego as the creative energy in human events, hence as the world-historical Spirit.

The Divine Will realizes itself also in the phenomena of the individual Human Will, as it unfolds in Institutions whose scientific (noetic)

process we have previously set forth in this book. History is ultimately the Noetic process of the World's History, which likewise has its Law and its Judgment.

III. *Philosophical Science*; the Ego as Will (Art) utters itself in a Thought which reveals and expresses the Absolute Ego as thinking all Thought or the Thought of the Universe — which expression is in the pure terms of Thought, or in the so-called abstract categories of Thinking. Philosophy is not simply the Thought of the object (as in Natural Science and History) but is the Thought of this Thought, is the genetic principle of Thought as genetic, or is Thought as self-creative.

Natural Science shows the *Cosmos*, man living in the World of Nature governed by Law, which Law he must discover, obey, and control. Historical Science shows *Civilization*, man living in a world of Institutions whose Law he must obey, employ, and finally make. Philosophical Science shows the *Universe*, man living in a world of Thoughts or Ideas, which are the Law underlying all Laws, or the Principle creative of all Principles. Thought is, in general, creative of the Thing, but philosophical Thought is creative of the Thought creative of the Thing.

The Divine Will realizes itself also in the process of Thought, as it unfolds into the Systems of Philosophy which have in various ages domi-

nated the World of Ideas, the latter likewise having its Process.

Science (Natural), History and Philosophy as the three Noetic Arts are seen to form a Psychosis. First is the Absolute Ego as manifesting itself immediately in Nature, into which it is, as it were, sunk in a sleep, till the scientist awakens it to consciousness. Second is the Absolute Ego manifesting itself as Universal Will in the manifold specialized forms of Will — Individual, Family, State, etc. Third is the Absolute Ego manifesting itself as Thought in the forms of Thought, which is the creative energy behind Nature and History.

Thus the Philosophical Science is a self-return, Thought returning upon itself and thinking itself as its own generative source. Philosophy is the science which goes back to all the other sciences and formulates the Thought of all their special Thoughts or Principles; thus it is Thought thinking Thought as the creative energy of the Universe.

Such is, in general, this last field of the Universal Educative Institution, embracing the Noetic Arts, whose three divisions are now to be more fully defined.

I. NATURAL SCIENCE. Man finds himself in an environment, which in a general way goes under the name of Nature. This environment conditions him on all sides, determines him from with-



out, so that he is from this point of view an un-free being, just the opposite of that which is his supreme end, namely freedom.

But man as sentient, even as an animal, reacts against his physical environment; there is something in him which will not permit him to be passively determined from without. As he rises in the scale of rationality he asserts himself more and more against this crushing necessity of Nature, this external Fate. He investigates the massive hand of the physical universe, to see if he may not in some way shun it or control it. Thus he comes to know the inner character of his physical environment, and this knowledge culminates in Natural Science.

The grand outcome of Natural Science is the discovery and formulation of the Laws of Nature, which must be finally united in an ordered and complete collection. They, too, must be codified, like Statutory Laws; they constitute a kind of *Corpus Juris* of Nature, which man must study and learn, and then obey—through which obedience comes finally the control over Nature. By such means he wins his freedom in his physical environment, and liberates himself, in an ever-increasing degree, from the Fate of Nature.

The chief fruitage of Natural Science is the codification of the Laws of Nature, according to which man lives a life of freedom. Here we may behold the institutional element in Natural

Science, we may see that it too has as its final end and culmination a free man living in a free world, by knowing and obeying the Laws of Nature, and finally by employing them to control Nature. Let a man disobey the Law of Gravitation; what is the consequence? The penalty of violation follows, and he cannot plead ignorance: *ignorantia legis non excusat*.

We have already noted that the State has specially its Law, whose end is also freedom. Indeed the Law of the State is beginning to enforce certain Natural Laws, for instance those of sanitation. As the grand function of the State is to secure freedom, so it sometimes has to re-enact the Laws of Nature, particularly the Laws of Health.

Thus the scientist in his fashion is also a law-giver, indeed he is the most important of all recent legislators,—he who is to discover and formulate the Laws of Nature, not in the old sense of the word found in the publicists of the last and preceding centuries, but in the modern sense. For the former discoverer and formulator of the Law of Nature was still the lawyer, but now it is the scientist like Darwin with his Law of Evolution.

Moreover this Body of scientific Law is illustrated by a new literature, the scientific, which is necessarily educative, its purpose being to inform the people (the recipient Ego) concerning the

Law which they have to know and obey and finally employ unto the end of freedom.

Again we may come back to that thought which is the uniting principle of our whole work: Natural Science belongs to the great Educative Institution of Civilization whose end is institutional freedom. The individual must be instructed in the Laws of Nature in order to will them and thus be free. He is Free-Will willing Free-Will through the Institution of Natural Science and its Law.

Still further, we have designated Natural Science as a Noetic Art; it utters itself as Thought in the so-called categories of Natural Science, as Force, Cause, Law. These abstract terms, by which the soul of Nature (or its Ego) is expressed, can be grasped only by Thought as Thought. Hence it comes that Natural Science, in uttering itself, looks beyond itself to a Science of Thought. Or the Ego of the scientist must ultimately behold and express the Nature-Spirit, or the absolutely creative Ego of Nature in the terms or language of the Ego, which is ultimately Thought. It is the poet who uses the images of Nature for his utterance, not the scientist; the latter seeks to discover and to formulate the inner energizing process of Nature, which can be done only by Thought.

Thus Natural Science has a continuous outlook upon Psychology as its unifying and codifying

principle. It springs from the individual Ego of the scientist identifying and declaring the process of the absolute Ego in the processes of Nature. Natural Science must come back to God in Nature (the absolutely creative Ego) out of its skepticism and agnosticism, just as it must come to be the grand advocate and vindicator of Freedom out of its Determinism. A Psychology of Nature is what will ultimately connect Natural Science with other Sciences, all of which are now looking to Psychology (to be sure, the right Psychology) for their final correlation.

It is plain that Natural Science has reasons for being a part of every educational curriculum far deeper than those usually assigned. It cultivates observation, it has many utilities in life, it gives pleasure, etc.; chiefly, however, it has a social and institutional function by its training in the Laws of Nature, since it advances man toward freedom through bringing him to will Free-Will in the form of Law.

Moreover Natural Science enables man not only to make himself free but to make the world free along with himself — otherwise indeed he is not free. Rude Nature, man's outer determinant in Space and Time, is transformed through a knowledge of physical Laws into a realm of freedom, since he thereby can largely control his environment.

In looking into the movement of Natural

Science we may regard it from three points of view.

1. The investigators or the working body of scientists are seeking to discover primarily the Facts of Nature, which mean something more than the mere external phenomena. Water, say, is the outer material phenomenon; investigation shows that it is decomposable into two simple elements, oxygen and hydrogen, which, when separated and independent, can be re-united and produce water. Such is the cycle of the Fact (here a chemical one) which is a Psychosis, or the immediate natural object made to pass through the alembic of the Ego of the investigator whose form or process it takes. (1) First is the simple object of Nature; (2) then is the decomposition or separation; (3) finally is re-composition, the return to the first stage after passing through analysis. Such is the basic chemical process, yet evidently conforming to the process of the Ego that it become Science. Now every department of Science, mechanical, physical, or biological, has a store of these Facts.

2. Thus, however, Science is merely a mass of isolated Facts, discoveries, experiments. Of course to the scientist this psychological side of his Fact is unconscious. His mind is on the thing as it is, and he turns away from all subjective suggestion. He will import nothing of himself into the Fact, yet the only implement of

discovering the Fact is himself, his Ego. He must free himself from subjective illusions, fancies, caprices, pre-conceptions; he must keep all of himself out of the Fact except just his Self. And the ultimate thing which he can see and know in the Fact is just Self.

But now comes a further analysis of the Fact of Nature on various sides. I observe a material object to be heavy, it is seeking unity with the earth, yea with the total cosmos. But this appetency I separate and call a Force, the Force of Gravitation. So I find all Nature to be full of Forces which I must separate, know and name by themselves. This divisive stage of Natural Science thus manifesting itself is the realm of Force, which is the seeking to get behind Nature and to find the primordial Ego (or demiurge) in his vast workshop called the physical Universe.

Such is the second phase, showing the separative character of the mighty Nature-Ego in its perpetual Process, which the human Ego of the investigator has to grasp and utter. Now the human Ego, grasping a force and uttering it, has to do so through a Psychosis, as follows: (1) potential, unmanifested Force; (2) Force and its manifestation, the twofoldness which is sometimes named Cause and Effect; (3) the return of Force into itself, not merely for once but continuously — the doctrine of persistent Force, the cycle of Force throughout the Universe. But

thereby Force vanishes into Law, which expresses a permanent universal fixed relation or activity of Force, as the Law of Gravitation or the Law of Multiple Proportions in Chemistry.

3. Law suggests, therefore, the complete cycle of Force, potential and real. Oxygen and hydrogen unite to form water, is the Fact; the might or energy of union is Force, passing from potential to real and back again; the method or measure of the uniting Force is given by the Law. Law announces the universal principle controlling Force; through Law (Natural) man can know and control the Forces of Nature.

When I say a Law of Nature, I recognize a power, a Will which controls certain Forces of Nature, so that they act uniformly; the phenomena occur according to Law. Really Law is a form of Will in Nature, a manifestation of the universal Will working and creating by a universal method.

It is true that the scientist does not recognize the Will in Law or in Force; these are his final expressions, for he is not psychological in his terms. Still he unconsciously presupposes Psychology in all of his formulation. Physical Science is the knowing of Nature, the recognition of the Self in it; this knowing is what is formulated in Science. The original naturalist sees in reality Thought to be the creative power of Nature, yet he does not formulate or recognize

this power as Thought. He must separate it from the Self, and look at it as something distinct from the Self, though it be just his Self which sees and formulates, and furthermore sees and formulates the absolutely creative Self in Nature, yet with his own scientific concepts (such as Fact, Force, Law).

The ultimate defense and justification of Natural Science is therefore to be found in Psychology. Its technical terms must be at last translated into those of the Ego's Science which is Psychology. But Physiological Psychology has, unfortunately for itself, reversed this process, having sought to translate the categories of true Psychology back into the terms of Natural Science — which is a putting-of the cart before the horse.

Again we may re-state the point that Natural Science on its institutional side is the formulated universal Will as creating Nature, which universal Will gives to the individual Will itself in this Science. Here too the Will of the individual is to will the Will creative and universal, then the man controls Nature — controls its Forces by finding and obeying its Laws.

So Physical Science is a department or phase of the Universal Institute of Civilization, being that which makes valid the individual Will in the mastery of Nature. But the individual Ego must know the Law, must first recognize and formu-



late the universal Ego as the creative power of Nature.

The Body of Scientific Truth is the totality which the Ego as Intellect must identify and make its own, in order to re-create Nature after the divinely creative Will. This so-called Body of Scientific Truth (Nature's *Corpus Juris*) is objective, is an element of Civilization, through which man realizes his Will in the control of Nature. It is Civilization which renders valid the individual Will, giving to man first a reflection of himself in the Laws of Nature, and then giving him the power to control the same for his own ends which ultimately make for freedom.

For these reasons we put Natural Science among the Noetic Arts of the Universal Educative Institution. It is peculiarly the Noetic Art of to-day, having in recent years made vast strides and expressed itself in an extensive and often beautiful literature.

What next? In the preceding treatment of Science we have taken for granted the human Will which has always been at work in the background; but now our attention is to be directed to it as directly expressing the Absolute Will. When the Fact of Nature is reduced to Law, this is man's act — human Will it is which discovers, sets forth and finally employs this Law. The Divine Ego reveals itself in the deeds and works

of all these separate, particular human Wills, which go to make the events of the world occurring in Time. Thus Historical Science comes to view, which, in its widest sweep, embraces quite all the spiritual products of man, since they all have a history, which, however, culminates in Institutions.

II. HISTORICAL SCIENCE. Herodotus, the Father of History, calls his work, which is our first and greatest historical Book, an inquiry, an investigation. Thus he is an investigator of human Facts or human events, as the scientist is the investigator of physical Facts. This fundamental distinction may be here noted: the Facts of History are dominantly in Time and in the past, and spring of the human will as their generating source; the Facts of Nature are dominantly in Space and of the Present, and spring of physical Force.

The historical Fact, like the scientific, must pass through the alembic of the investigator, ere it gets its character. First is the simple human occurrence as transmitted; then it must be tested by the criteria of the investigator, and thereby determined to be authentic, credible, historic, or the reverse. Of course the criteria of the historic Fact have been very diverse with different persons and in different ages, starting with the primal distinction between Mythus and History.

The mass of historic Facts is found to have its

Laws, just as Nature, indeed one great fundamental Law. The point where Historical touches Natural Science to-day is the Law of Evolution. Each shows the Evolution of two different worlds — Nature and Institutions, each of which has its distinct Laws and finally an ultimate common Law.

History shows the Evolution of Institutions, how they overcome the inadequate, negative element in man and in themselves, and rise more and more toward the ideal end which is freedom. This historic Evolution has been outlined previously in each separate Institution (Family, Society, etc.). History, therefore, deals with actualized Free-Will, especially with the movement of the State, whose supreme purpose is to secure Free-Will consciously through the Law. A succession of forms of actualized Free-Will, developing and advancing toward perfect actualization is the line of continuity which History presents.

There are three distinct meanings of History all of which, however, belong together.

1st. The immediate historic act or occurrence; the body of human events which are now taking place, of course through man's Will. The expression which has been often heard at critical moments: "We are now making History," is an instance of the present meaning.

2nd. The record of events is also History, usu-

ally written. But this record must have one additional element: the Ego of the recorder, investigator, historian, who may add reflection, instruction, order and color of his own — must do so more or less. However objective he be, or thinks himself to be, he must at least test the transmitted fact by his own criteria, apply them, rejecting or accepting. This we may call in general historiography.

3rd. But the third meaning is the deepest and most important, namely History as historical Science, and a Noctic Art. Thus History reveals the absolute *Nous* or Ego in the movement of human events, often called the World-Spirit.

Such are three meanings of History, yet at bottom one, for they belong together and form a process, which is the Psychosis. The third meaning must go back to the first, the immediate historic event, and fill the same with the purpose and scope of the Absolute Spirit, whose outer garment is Time and its fleeting occurrences. This is accomplished through the record of events, the second stage of History, which has made permanent the grand continuity of the historic world.

The true historic genius has all three senses of History in himself as he investigates and sets down the account of the ages. He has a profound sense of the reality, of the fact as fact; also the industry and sobriety of the investigator, who

tests the transmitted events by the historic standard of truth; finally he must have a sense of the eternal presence of the universal Ego, of the World-Spirit, in the events which he records, and which are to reveal the workings of the Divine Self in the occurrences of Time, as well as to indicate suggestively the final end of all History. To be sure, the historian as such is not to unfold explicitly the Science of History in his narrative, still it is to be given there implicitly. Herein again, the Father of History, and still the first Historian in excellence, as well as in time, furnishes the best example to his successors, though his criteria often need revision.

Historical Science takes, then, the transmitted human events and the past environment of man, and transmutes the whole into Thought whose culmination is Law, not natural, but institutional, which man must obey in order to be free. Moreover he is to know the Law, the Law of the State and Church, and finally the Law of the World-Spirit, whose end is actualized freedom. Thus Historical Science is a part or branch of the Universal Educative Institution (School of Civilization) which has to impart to all people (the recipient Egos) the grand Evolution of the absolute Nous in human events, of which they become conscious as of the Spirit unfolding in Time. So our universal Institute demands Historical Science, that all become aware of the

World's History as revealed in the individual and in the social order.

Moreover, we can see that it belongs to the second or separative stage of Noetic Art, on account of the twofoldness of Will: the Absolute Will on the one hand and on the other the Individual Will with its Institutions, both sides willing and actualizing freedom. Moreover there is in History the dualism of Present and Past.

We can also see that the Evolution implicit in Natural Science (and hence so late in being brought fully to light) is explicit in History, which has through its being in the succession of Time the outer form of Evolution, which Nature has not. The recorded History of physical man unfolding through many forms during untold ages is Darwin's recent contribution. But the recorded history of spiritual man unfolding into and through Institutions, is older, its first complete form being found in Herodotus, who brings it very strikingly to the consciousness of the Race.

History we may in a sense call the Evolution of Evolution; it is a continuous outward unfolding in Time of the Spirit unfolding inward. Time gives form to History, not to Nature, at least not directly, for Nature is not self-conscious and cannot record her own events, as does man.

Most important, therefore, is the study of History in the School of Civilization, which, thereby, beholds itself in its own development

and in its ultimate purpose. But the study of History belongs also to the other Schools, to the Public School and to the University, though these do not create History, as Civilization does.

These statements concerning Historical Science must suffice for the present. We have observed that Thought is present as the divinely creative principle in human events, or in the deeds of individuals; next we are to see Thought in the third stage of the present process.

III. PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCE. This, in general, grasps and formulates Thought as the creative principle of the Universe. Already in the sciences of Nature and History, we have seen Thought grasping and formulating itself as the creative principle of the object or special thing. But in Philosophy Thought must grasp and formulate Thought not only as the creative principle of the thing or of some single domain, but of all things, of the total Universe, which is itself a Thought.

Philosophy is not simply Thought, but the Thought of Thought, that is, Thought turning back upon itself, and grasping and formulating itself as the pure process of all special Sciences, each of which has its own special Thought. For instance, Natural Science may predicate the Thought of Nature to be Force, which is one of its terms. But Force, though a Thought, is finally to be translated into a term of Thought

purely, whereby it is taken up into philosophical Science. Each special Science has its own categories applicable to that Science which the investigator has discovered and employed. Philosophy is to recognize these special categories as Thought, is to formulate them anew, and order them in a universal System of Thought, showing that Thought which thinks all Thought

Herein we can see the following process: First is Thought expressed immediately, in the object of Art or in the event of History. Secondly, the specialist as thinker or investigator separates this implicit Thought in the Thing, and utters it in a category or scientific term belonging specially to that science. Thirdly, Thought takes up all these special categories or Thoughts, formulates and utters them anew in one universal Thought which is the creative principle underlying all of them, thereby calling forth Philosophy, which is hence often named *scientia scientiarum*.

Philosophy thus proclaims itself as the primal principle or process or Law ruling, directing, creating the Universe. Mighty is the claim, Thought is not only absolute, but is the absolutist, being Ego, personal. The philosophic Ego not only utters the Law, which rules, but the Law of Laws in Nature and History; his Ego is not merely Law-giving but Law-creating, setting forth that Law which produces all other Laws.



And this universally creative Law is not only to be obeyed by the recipient Ego, but is to be re-created, if it be truly understood and followed.

We may now see that Philosophy is the Noetic Art *par excellence*, showing Thought (*Nous*) creating Thought and ordering it into a System or World of Ideas, which is to rule all other worlds. It is also an Institution, being actualized Will and educative likewise, since it is a discipline which trains men in the School of Civilization for freedom. Thus Philosophy belongs to the Universal Educative Institution.

Philosophic Science is the third stage of the total scientific process, since it grasps and formulates the return of Thought upon itself. But herewith comes the conclusion of the Noetic Arts, indeed of the whole world of Institutions, which has now brought forth an Institution knowing and uttering and imparting the creative principle and source of all Institutions. Self-conscious the institutional world has become in Philosophy, knowingly recreative of itself.

A new envioning world of its own forms Philosophy has created, and into this hitherto undiscovered or even non-existent world it conducts the Ego, as into a second realm of Nature. Still these forms are not real, but Thoughts, Shapes, Schemes of Mind, nevertheless they dominate the world of Nature, are its essences, when rightly grasped. Of course the shapes of Nature are

given to the recipient Ego and determine it from the outside, but the Ego's grand destiny is to create its own world of shapes, that it be free. Yet in another and deeper sense this Thought-world is the true, indeed the only reality, while the material world of Nature is the unreal, the Appearance, fleeting, shadowy, lying. For Thought is the creative principle behind all things which come and go, while this creative energy remains and is eternal. An organized system of Thought is the work of Philosophic Science, which first explains the Universe immediately, then explains all other explanations thereof, and finally explains itself, that is, explains its own explanation.

Yet Philosophy which unfolds the system of Thought, which unifies and interprets all, has not been one itself or at one with itself. It also drops back into History and produces in Time a succession of systems, a row of ideal Worlds down the ages, which is recorded in the History of Philosophy, and which, in any complete sense, opens with the realm of Ideas of Plato and reaches down to the evolution of logical Categories in Hegel, but does not end with the latter. Historical Science or the Philosophy of History has its counterpart in the History of Philosophy, or grand succession not of events but of kingdoms of Ideas, of Categories, of Pure Thought, which have, like the outer kingdoms of the world, risen,

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flourished, and decayed. So Philosophy, grasping and formulating the Evolution of the Ages in Thought is itself an Evolution, and becomes the thing which it explains. We may call it too the Evolution of Evolution, and it is in a sense; still even this does not rescue it from the negative side of the evolutionary process.

Moreover Philosophy is the universal Science (*scientia scientiarum*), yet just this distinguishes it from other sciences and thus makes it also special. So Philosophy develops within itself a fundamental contradiction: as including all disciplines it is universal, as distinct from all it is special. Indeed its universal attribute, the fact that it is universal, is just what specializes it, and finitizes its infinite pretension.

This is the contradiction of which Philosophy usually dies or is in danger of dying. It unites the special and general in one process and so lives till these two sides become separated and mutually destructive. Philosophy should transform the Ego into creative freedom through its absolute Law or universal Principle; but it usually falls to doing just the opposite: to tyrannizing over the Ego by its System, and thus enslaves or destroys what is really its vital fountain-head, namely, the Ego. Thus Philosophy drops into a self-destroying dualism, and undoes itself by doing that which it was intended to prevent.

Herein, however, Philosophy as such has reached its end. It has asserted itself, asserted its forms as the creative and hence dominating principle of all things, of the Universe. But its authority, its Law and its Forms, have to go back to the Ego and be re-created in consciousness, in every consciousness, ere they can be accepted. So a new Science, or Science of Sciences, begins to make its appearance. Philosophy calls for Psychology, or rather the subordinate Philosophy of Psychology passes over into the regnant Psychology of Philosophy.

Philosophy has sought and formulated the common principle in all abstractions, trying to give their creative thought, yet in this act of vivifying all abstraction it has remained abstract. It has endeavored to give the universal element in all particulars, still just therein it has become particular itself. Its ultimate end is or ought to be freedom of the spirit, but it turns to be the veriest absolutist of the kingdom of the mind. After all, Philosophy is the absolute Monarchy, not the Republic.

Philosophy must be absolute, as giving the process of the absolute, or divinely creative Ego in the Universe; but this absoluteness (a right thing) has always dropped into absolutism (a wrong thing). It has been noted by Cicero and cited with approval by Hegel that Philosophy is suspected and hated by the multitude, that is, by

the people. They do not understand it, still they dislike it, not without some reason, one may think. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were hostile to the Democracy; rightly so in part, as they knew that popular caprice is not freedom.

But absolutism in its turn is not freedom; it must go back and be creatively united with the individual Ego so that freedom be just the Absolute, not absolutist on the one hand nor capricious on the other. Individuality, like absoluteness, is right — individualism, like absolutism is wrong. Thought must, therefore, pass out from being philosophical to being psychological; the act of obedience must imply the Ego's recreation of the Law, not merely subjection to external authority.

Philosophy begins to apply its categories to other sciences and in fact to all domains externally, and thus loses its true vital relation to man and to science. Properly its function is to express the absolutely creative principle in all things by such categories. So it comes that Philosophy drops into formalism and is choked to death by its own nomenclature.

At this point begins the protest of the Ego which ends in open revolt against the realm of Ideas or Thought-forms imposed on it from the outside, without its acceptance or even knowledge. So it returns into itself and asserts its own inner movement as the source of all Science, and specially of Philosophy. Furthermore, the

Ego affirms its process to be ultimately one with the process of the absolute Ego, the creative source of Philosophy, and it begins to insist that all categories of Philosophy must not be separated from itself, the fountain-head, but must perpetually be brought back to itself as their original source. Now the process of the Ego working through and organizing all Philosophy is the Psychosis, whose unfolding is given in the Psychology of the Intellect, into which we here pass out of the Psychology of the Will. We have seen the Psychosis as the genetic and ordering principle of Institutions and of the entire realm of Will; wherewith the present work concludes itself. Still we may add that the Psychosis, having revealed the practical objective world, must next proceed to reveal the intellectual, subjective world, which culminates in completed self-revelation, or the Psychosis of the Psychosis (See *Psychology and the Psychosis*, p. 553, et seq.)

Thus the explication of Philosophy as the final Noetic Art calls for the Psychosis, which has its full development in the sphere of Intellect, where it shows itself as the immanent creative source of all things, hence too of Philosophy. The Psychosis will, accordingly, return to Philosophy and all the systems thereof, and reveal itself as their fundamental genetic process and end.

Philosophy has been essentially a European

discipline, having its first independent movement in ancient Greece and its last in modern Germany. It spans the whole European thought-world, making it distinct from the Oriental; but a [new discipline is dawning, the Occidental one, which is not philosophical but psychological, and which must be seen to be the outcome and the explanation of both the Oriental and the European forms of Thinking, being the third stage of a vast World-Psychosis, which is to reveal the triune movement of Orient, Europe, and Occident.









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